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21 October 1985

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CAMEROON

BIYA'S PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 18 Sep 85 pp 4-6

[Text]

President **Paul Biya's** political survival depends on whether he can improve the economy and convince his compatriots, above all those in the army, that former president **Ahmadu Ahidjo's** political mafia has finally been laid to rest. The congress of the ruling *Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais* (RDPC) in Bamenda last March saw half the party central committee sacked. And at the end of last month 10 ministers lost their jobs in a far-reaching cabinet shake-out.

But Biya, who narrowly survived the April 1984 coup attempt, is still far from secure. Ever since Ahidjo resigned three years ago, popular expectations have been alarmingly high.

Biya's most pressing problems can be summarised as:

- The reluctance of Cameroun's increasingly well-educated 4.5m under-20-year-olds (half the population) to support the RDPC and its policies. Nowhere is the crisis of expectations more evident: the economy has not created jobs for graduates and secondly school leavers.

- Political instability has discouraged economic policy-planning. Official economic indicators show relative prosperity because of record oil production. But investment in the non-oil sector is too low - partly a result of foreign investors' fears following the coup attempt. Biya will have to favour local business on an economic basis, rather than tailoring economic policy to assuage tribal groups. Certainly he likes the idea of encouraging a new "national bourgeoisie" of forward-looking *hommes d'affaires*. (**James Onobiono**, who owns the FIAM household appliance group and has recently opened a cigarette factory, epitomises the sort of productive technocrat Biya admires.)

- In tandem with the above, Biya needs to consolidate the influence of the 30-45-year-old generation of technocrats he is trying to promote in the cabinet and state administration.

- The 2m-strong Anglophone community in western Cameroun (AC Vol 26 No 4) must be given every opportunity to integrate itself more into the national economy. The westerners' cultural and linguistic traditions will have to be respected, lest anti-government activity is fermented there. Potentially the west is a time-bomb.

- Biya also has the standard presidential task of trying to keep the army and security forces happy, and maintaining some contact with opposition groups, including those associated with Ahidjo.

The starting point for Biya's political reform was the Bamenda congress. Half of the new 65-member central committee and 15 of the 20 candidate members were newcomers, the changes involved what appeared to be a five-point political strategy:-

1. The retiring of former *Union Nationale Camerounaise* (UNC) central committee members considered to be close politically to Ahidjo, and their partial replacement on the new RDPC central committee by established but more independent political figures from the Ahidjo era. In the first category were those like **Félix Sabal Lecco**, **Guillaume Bwélé** and the Anglophone **Emmanuel Tabi Egbe**. In the second were, for example, **Abdoulaye Hadji** and **Sadou Daoudou**, and a number of older conservative barons such as **François Senghat Kuoh**, **Jean Marcel Menguémé** and **Joseph Charles Doumba**.

2. The exclusion of Biya's former political rivals and contenders for the presidency, most notably **Victor Ayissi Mvodo** (former minister of the interior and UNC ideologue), **Bouba Bello Maigari** (prime minister immediately after Biya assumed the presidency), and **Charles Assélé**, also a former prime minister, who comes from Biya's tribe - the Boulou sub-tribe of the Beti. Other members of the Beti lobby, like **Etienne Tsama** and **André Tchoungui**, once encouraged by Biya, were also excluded.

3. Technocrats were given strong representation. Onobiono and those of similar background like **Joseph Sack**, **Pierre Tchanque**, **Noucti Tchokwago**, **Claude Nyassa**, **Léonard-Charles Mpouna**, **Titi Gottlieb** and the doyen of them all, **Samuel Kondo**, now form what Biya hopes will become the decision-making core of the party.

Last month's cabinet change was the natural next step in the technocrats' promotion and the old-guard's demise. The most important of the 10 ministers sacked was Tchoungui. As minister of the armed forces he had gained a lot of influence over the previous 18 months. And as a Beti his prominence had begun to cast doubt on Biya's hegemony in the south-central region. Minister of information **François Kuoh**, a Douala, was sacked partly because of his poor handling of the iconoclastic Anglophone press. The other potentates to go were **Félix Tonye Mbog**, the Bassa tribe's main representative; the



unofficial Bamiléké cabinet spokesman **Ngong Ouandji**; the leading northerner, **Youssoufa Daouda**; and **Bol Alima**, a Bafia.

The new cabinet, while giving most scope to the technocratic group, does reflect a measure of regional representation. It also includes a number of respected elder statesmen: **William Eteki Mboumoua**, who retains the foreign ministry; **Jean-Marcel Menguémé**, who retains the interior ministry; and **René Ze Nguele**, who takes on the civil service ministry.

The leader of what can be considered the "progressive" wing of the RDPC is **Georges Ngango**, the

new minister of information and culture. Assisting him is Professor **Raphael Onambele**, the new state secretary for information, who is known for his forward-looking views and his contacts in francophone intellectual circles. In another effort to provide the president's office with international prestige, Biya named as the new secretary-general the well-known writer **Fernand Léopold Oyono**. A Beti, he was formerly ambassador to numerous western capitals as well as Camerounian representative to the UN. His contacts should prove invaluable. Also at the president's office is Professor **Joseph Owono** and **Jean Nkuete**. The influential **Philippe Mataga** stays on as director of the presidential cabinet, despite criticism of his handling of affairs.

The north is represented by **Sadou Hayatou**, minister of planning; **Abdoulaye Babale**, minister of urban development; **Mohamadou Labarang**, minister of administrative reform; and **Hamadjoda Adjoudi**, minister of animal industries. The Anglophones are likewise now quite well-represented in cabinet, though not at a senior level: **Michael Tabong Kima** as minister of mines and energy, **Joseph Charles Awunti** as minister in charge of relations with the national assembly, and **Victor Anomah Ngu**. Two Anglophone state secretaries were appointed: **Salomon Nfor Gwei**, at agriculture, and **Michael Namaya**, at commerce and industry.

The other group within the cabinet is made up of Biya's close associates: **Joseph Fofe** (labour), **Edouard Nomo Ongolo** (trade and industry), **Benjamin Itoe** (justice), **Titus Edzoa** (Biya's personal physician, now in charge of missions at the presidency), **Robert Mbella Mbappe** (national education), **Edouard Koulla** (finance) and **Joseph-Charles Doumba**.

### Security stakes

The armed forces and security services have been Biya's *bêtes noires*. Since the coup attempt great efforts have been made to dilute the power of any one group within the forces. Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Gen. **Pierre Semengué**, is a Boulou; airforce commander is Gen. **Nganso Sandji**, a Bamiléké; and army commander is Gen. **James Tabni Tatow**, an Anglophone. (The only northern general is Gen. **Ounaroudjam**). The presidency's

new defence adviser, **Jérôme-Emilien Abondo**, is a Boulou of high standing.

The presidential guard, which was responsible for the 1984 coup attempt, has been thoroughly reshaped under the command of Commissioner **Pierre Minlo Medjo**. (The Israelis now train the guard). The secret service, *Le Centre National de Documentation* (CND), is now under Commissioner **Samuel Missonmba**, whose deputy is **Moïse Mouiché** (who happens to come from the same region as previous CND director **Jean Fochivé**).

By encouraging professionalism and the modernisation of the armed forces, Biya obviously hopes to assuage the usual military complaints about poor equipment. The French are providing more training too. Senior officers have been granted business opportunities, and the rank-and-file has received salary increases and subsidized food and other goods. Emphasis on nationalism and patriotism is also evident. The most recent officers' graduation class was named after the Douala chief Manga Bell, a legendary figure who fought against German colonials.

Biya and his advisers are acutely aware of the importance of good intelligence. Though Ahidjo's much-feared secret police organisation, DIRDOC, has now been replaced by the CND, a number of key personnel from DIRDOC wield considerable power in the new service. After the Bamenda congress one of Biya's confidants, **Daniel Ekani**, an alternate member of the RDPC central committee, was given charge of internal security. Since then surveillance of those considered subversive has been routine, and in a number of cases individuals have been detained.

A significant example is the detention of M. **Kebzabo**, a Chadian based in Garoua (Ahidjo's home town) and well-known for his journalism and friendship with Ahidjo's son, **Mohamadou Ahidjo**. Kebzabo was detained in April and has been held ever since at the Yaoundé headquarters of the *Brigade Mobile Mixte* (BMM). The latter was used as DIRDOC's strong-arm unit, and is still recruited from the more unsavoury miscellany of local thugs. BMM's role today appears little different from its days of DIRDOC service.

CND's ostensible argument for arresting Kebzabo was his alleged contacts with Ahidjo's supporters in the north-east Nigerian town of Maiduguri. Others hauled in by CND include Maître **Dimka**, a leading local lawyer, whose critical paper on the Anglophone elite was evidently considered dangerous, and **Stanilas Meloné**, former head of the university faculty of law, whose outspokenness annoyed Biya. Contrary to CND claims, Meloné does not appear to have any ambition to take part in a northern plot or in secession of the west.

By contrast, Biya has been tolerant over religion. His main aim is probably to undermine the influence

of the conservative catholic hierarchy, especially Bishop **Jean Zoa** of Yaoundé, who was close to Ahidjo. The return from exile in **Canada** of the former bishop of Nkongsamba, **Albert Ndongmo**, was not welcomed by Bishop Zoa. There is an open-door policy towards Muslim leaders in the north, and Biya has been initiated into several tribal sects since the beginning of the year.

A test of the regime's popularity will be the forthcoming local elections for party delegates. Many young people see them as an opportunity to sweep from office local potentates who rose to power under Ahidjo. The party is even discussing whether to allow more than one candidate at the local level -

a move which would certainly boost Biya's image as a democrat. The problem is that several ministers, if faced with competition, would probably be thrown out by provincial electorates. One way around this would be to change the party rules so that ministers would not have to be re-elected at the local level. The elections have been suspended until the dilemma is sorted out.

However, legislative elections can be expected at the end of the year or early in 1986. Several candidates might be allowed to run for each seat, which would almost certainly result in the ousting of dozens of veteran legislators.

## The Opposition

A multi-party system is allowed by the constitution. In practice none of the opposition is officially recognised. Below are the main opposition groups:-

- **Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC)**. While demanding its official recognition, UPC leaders are strengthening their organisation for future political battles. Many UPC cadre have discreetly returned to the country after years of exile. (The police is aware of their presence, but moves have yet to be made against them.) President **Sassou-Nguesso's** regime in **Congo** has allowed the UPC to reactivate its Brazzaville base. The UPC is torn between a reformist, pragmatic wing and hardliners close to the **Soviet Union**. The pragmatists are backed by secretary-general **Ngou Woungly Massaga**. They want a plural system, and talk of petitioning the Supreme Court for official recognition. This faction also counts on the support of "progressives" within the regime like **Georges Ngango**. The hardline faction, behind Paris-based deputy secretary-general **Simeon Kiussiu**, wants to return to UPC traditions of intransigence and even armed struggle to force change.

- **Organisation Camerounaise pour la Liberté et la Démocratie (OCLD)**. Led by Professor **Abel Eyinga** from Paris, the OCLD is basically a social democratic grouping. Eyinga has good relations with "radical" African regimes like **Algeria**, **Benin** and **Congo** as well as with France's **Parti Socialiste (PS)**. He has

discreetly sounded out Biya's government about returning to the country, and the possibility of a teaching post at Yaoundé University. So far, there has been no reply. Eyinga has also tried to play the ethnic card, playing up that he is from the president's Boulou group. Many RDPC potentates do not want him to return to Cameroun, where he is still popular. (In the early 1970s he bravely ran against Ahidjo for the presidency). The OCLD has toned down its criticism of the government. It has no real organisation in Cameroun.

- **Démocratie du Peuple Kamerunais (DPK)**. Spearheaded by Bassa politician, **Bakang Tonje**, an ex-UPC activist, it espouses left-leaning policies. Its influence is limited to a small circle of Camerounian students in Western Europe.

- **Union Démocratique et Populaire du Cameroun (UDPC)**. Led from Paris by Maître **Jean-Pierre Oum**, also a Bassa. Another social democratic party.

- **One Kamerun Movement**. Based in London, it is an Anglo-phone splinter from UPC, with a strong cultural-cum-nationalist bent. Led by **Ndeh Ntumazah**, an ageing ex-UPC activist, its influence is limited to students and intellectuals from western Cameroun.

- **Le Parti Communiste Camerounais (PCC)**. A mysterious pro-**Albania** movement which operates in Camerounian student ranks in France and Canada without much effect.

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DJIBOUTI

BRIEFS

SOLDIERS 'NOT DESERTERS'--A senior Djibouti government official denied on September 8 a report by the clandestine opposition Somali Radio Halgan that 200 soldiers from Somalia's army had deserted their camp at Borama and crossed the border into Djibouti. The official, revealing that Djibouti's armed forces had carried out an extensive search operation on the border with Somalia a few days after the sabotage which derailed the Djibouti-Addis Ababa train on July 17, put forward the hypothesis that these troops could have been mistaken for Somalis. The disclosure that such an operation took place seems to confirm that the pro-Mogadishu Western Somalia Liberation Front was responsible for the attack on the train. [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 5]

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ETHIOPIA

EPLF SECRETARY-GENERAL ON SECRET NEGOTIATIONS

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER 14 Sep 85 in English p 7

[Interview with EPLF Secretary-General Ramadhan Mohamed Nur by correspondent for THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] After your withdrawal from Barentu, how do you regard your current situation?

[Answer] We are in a transitional phase from the 1978-79 period when the Ethiopian regime with Soviet support and intervention was able to change the balance of forces in its favour and we were in the strategic defensive. Gradually we took the military initiative in 1983-84, and we are turning from the defensive to the strategic offensive, where it is possible that the enemy might make certain tactical advances. The withdrawal from Barentu has to be seen in this context. It does not mean a strategic change in the balance of forces between the EPLF and the Ethiopian regime. There were certain factor that made (the withdrawal) happen: the regime had to put in two more divisions, one infantry and one mechanised from the Ogaden, apart from those it had in the area, another division from Tigray and 15,000 new recruits doing their national military service. This brought the overall number of Ethiopian forces within Eritrea to 11 divisions. This, coupled with the current situation in the Barka area, necessitated an EPLF withdrawal from Barentu in order to guarantee the continuity of the struggle. But in terms of EPLF strength vis-à-vis the enemy, we feel we are in a stronger position after the liberation of Barentu because the arms, machinery and equipment we captured (there) add to the mobility of the EPLF and its fire-power.

[Question] Has the EPLF used the offices of the OAU or African heads of state to reach a compromise solution of the Eritrean question?

[Answer] Since 1977 we have made various attempts to start negotiations with the Ethiopians. We called for negotiations without pre-conditions. In 1978 we had talks, direct talks, with the Ethiopian regime. They failed because the Ethiopians simply demanded that we lay down our arms. There were attempts by the Sudanese authorities which did not materialise. In 1980 we came out with the proposal for a referendum, giving Eritreans a chance to choose between a federation, independence or complete unity with Ethiopia. Since then, and especially since 1982 up to March this year, there have been preliminary

contacts and meetings with Ethiopian authorities. But the Ethiopian response has not been positive (and their) position remains unchanged. We were stopped by agreement with the Ethiopians to keep the negotiations secret (but) the Ethiopians were systematically leaking (information) in order to pre-empt our diplomatic offensive and to neutralise those governments or political forces sympathetic to the EPLF. But now we have made an assessment after our recent experience, and we are going to issue a statement clarifying our position.

CSO: 3400/53

21 October 1985

## ETHIOPIA

## CONSTITUTION SAID SOME WAY OFF

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER 14 Sep 85 in English p 4

[Text] The central committee of the Ethiopian Workers' Party set up on September 4 a commission with the task of drawing up a new constitution for when Ethiopia becomes a "people's democratic republic." Features of the constitution will include a certain amount of regional autonomy.

In his report to the central committee, head of state Mengistu Haile Mariam announced that the ceilings on private investment would be raised, from 150,000 to 500,000 dollars for individuals and from 250,000 to one million dollars for companies. This change "does not mean a return to capitalism", colonel Mengistu asserted, but was in line with the rise in costs of imported raw materials and capital goods.

I.O.N.--The announcement one year after the creation of the Ethiopian Workers' Party that a commission to draw up a new constitution has only just been established is a clear sign that this document will not be ready soon. It will replace the constitution of emperor Haile Selassie which was suspended on September 12, 1974. Yet last year, at the party's birth, unofficial sources predicted that a people's republic and the adoption of a basic law would be announced on its first anniversary. In its decree of September 6, 1984, announcing the creation of the party, the Derg repeated its undertaking to hand over power to a "people's assembly" once the constitution was unveiled and elections organized. The apparent delay in the schedule seems due largely to the widespread famine and the extension of guerrilla activity in Eritrea and Tigray.

Colonel Mengistu devoted a large part of his report to the central committee to the resettlement programme, saying that 510,287 had been moved from famine-stricken areas to more fertile regions between November 1984 and July 1985. This figure is well below declared targets.

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KENYA

## SAFE WATER FACILITIES FOR TWO DISTRICTS

Nairobi E.A. REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY in English Aug 85 p 25

[Text]

**T**HE multi-million-shilling new safe water facilities have brought to an end the suffering and hardships faced by the residents of Kwale and Kilifi districts at the Kenya Coast.

The provision of these facilities, which include boreholes wells, fresh water points, windmills, handpumps, storage tanks, water

kiosks and bathrooms, could not have been a success without the role played by the Mombasa-based Pwani Fabricators, located along the Mwabundu Road.

Pwani Fabricators are specialists in fabricating windmills, handpumps, boreholes, wells and dams together with all other equipments and industrial spare parts.

Their efforts in providing the rural population with safe water has vastly supplemented the Kenya Government's efforts aimed at improving the water and sanitary services enjoyed by rural people by the year 1980, as part of this country's participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade.

The firm's Managing Director, Mr. Moosa Sodha, pointed out that the need for increased evaluation activity is particularly acute in the rural water supply sector. He says that, following the installation of equipment in various projects in Kwale and Kilifi districts, the people now are in a position to get cleaner water, contrary to what the situation was in the past leading to the wide

spread of water-borne diseases.

The Kwale East MP, Mr. Masoud Ali Mwakileo, has said that the completion of the safe water project has brought to an end the sufferings and hardships encountered by the Kwale people, who had previously to depend on polluted water. "They now have clean and safe water and can look forward to a bright future in their overall activities of nation-building free from fear of communicable disease", said the MP.

He commended Pwani Fabricators, whose efforts have saved the Kwale people from travelling to remote areas to fetch polluted water which harboured diseases.

The sophisticated windmills made by Pwani Fabricators supply four times more water with the same wind velocity than did the old-fashioned windmills.

The firm was launched by the Sodha family who make up the personnel of Pwani Fabricators -- Hassan Esmail Sodha (who is the Managing Director and site project manager), Mohammed Esmail Sodha (Managing Director based in the workshop) and Moosa Sodha, the office co-ordinator -- many years ago due to the prohibitive price of obtaining power to pump water to their farm in Kikambala, on the North Coast.

Currently the firm is working on the second phase of the Mjanaheri rural water project in Kilifi District which is intended to serve 4,500 families.

KENYA

## FIGURES ON PORT TRAFFIC

Nairobi E.A. REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY in English Aug 85 pp 23, 25

### [Excerpt]

Last year, the port handled a total of 6.6 million tonnes of cargo, a slight rise over the 6.5m tonnes of 1983. Of this figure, 2m tonnes was export cargo and 4.5m tonnes import cargo. The level of export traffic handled was not much changed from that of the previous year. After dropping in 1982, imports have been rising in the past two years.

Dry cargo exports have been rising steadily since 1980 but fell from 1.8m tonnes in 1983 to 1.5m tonnes last year. Dry cargo imports have fluctuated around the 2m tonne mark since 1980, though they fell dramatically (by 28 per cent) in 1982 but rose to nearly 2m tonnes again last year. After rising sharply from nearly 0.6m tonnes in 1980 to 1.3m tonnes in 1981, bulk liquids exports fell sharply the following year and in 1983 and only rose to just over 0.5m tonnes last year. Imports of bulk liquids have been falling since 1981.

Transit cargo handled at the port to neighbouring countries decreased from 495,000 tonnes in 1983 to 489,000 tonnes last year. Exports from these countries going through the port rose marginally to 220,000 tonnes while their imports fell 270,000 tonnes.

Only 1,220 ships were handled at the port in 1984, 64 less than the previous year. The number of cargo ships arriving at the port has been declining since 1980. But the volume of

freight handled indicates that the size of the ships has been larger than ever before.

The KPA has been engaged in a major modernisation drive over the past few years to make Mombasa a more modern port capable of handling the most sophisticated ships. Thanks to the dramatic changes in the pattern of sea trade wrought by the container revolution, the Authority had to change — and fast. Huge sums have been invested in providing modern container handling facilities. A new container terminal, capable of handling up to 250,000 TEUs (20 ft equivalent units), was commissioned in early 1983. New container handling equipment — including ship to shore gantry cranes and transainers — was acquired. Two berths have been converted to handle container traffic. An inland container depot (ICD) was completed last year. Although it is yet to become fully operative, the 120,000-TEU depot will help ease congestion at the port and improve unit turnaround times (last year, the port handled 92,000 TEUs; up on the 84,000 handled in the previous year).

To cope with all these changes, personnel training has been going on apace, at Mombasa's Bandari College and on the job. Consultants from one of Europe's largest container ports — the UK's Felixstowe — have been working with the KPA in the modernisation programme and in training staff.



KENYA

AGRICULTURE IN COAST PROVINCE DEVELOPING

Nairobi E.A. REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY in English Aug 85 pp 21, 23

[Article by Joe Rogoiyo: "Agriculture Has Made Big Strides In Coast Province"]

[Excerpts]

Although it may be no match for that of other provinces, Coast agriculture has taken big strides in recent years; it has grown consistently and considerably. Appropriate government policy, farmer enthusiasm and decent rainfall (there was hardly a word about drought in Coast Province last year when the rest of the country was reeling from its effects), have helped a good deal.

With 35,000 hectares under palm trees, coconut is the largest cash or industrial crop in the region. It is, by tradition, an important multi-purpose crop as well the leaves are used for thatching, for instance; the trunk is used for construction and as firewood. It is also an important food crop. About 21,000 of copra equivalent are produced annually and fetch an estimated Sh. 100 million (m). Another big one is cashewnuts, which earns farmers in the Coast region between Sh. 2m and Sh. 3m a year. About 30,000ha are under cashewnuts and produce 12,000 tonnes of the stuff annually.

Coffee is another important cash crop. In 1983, it earned farmers more than Sh. 3m. Also important is cotton, which is grown on some 8,000ha and earned farmers nearly Sh. 1m in 1983. Sisal is grown on about 48,000ha. In 1983, estimated sisal fibre sales fetched around Sh. 4.5m. Sugar is another big one. About 11,500 tonnes, produced by Associated Sugar Company at Ramisi, fetched Sh. 60m.

Maize is still the largest food crop at the Coast, with 38,000ha under it producing an estimated 310,000 bags. Of the area under maize, about 10,000ha are under improved

maize and the rest under local (or traditional) strains. Most of the improved maize, according to the provincial agricultural office, is what is known as Coast composite.

A little rice is grown in valley bottoms, swamp areas and in small irrigated areas of Taveta and Tana River. Output last year was in the region of 600 tonnes, all of it consumed at the farm level. Also consumed at the farm level are sorghum and millet, as are beans, cowpeas, and green grams. These are crops which are interplanted with maize after the first or second weeding. About 18,000 tonnes of cassava are harvested each year in the Coast. Farmers fetch between Sh. 600 and Sh. 800 per tonne of fresh tuber supplied to the local cassava factory.

The Coast is an important area in the production of fruits, notably citrus fruits, mangoes, bananas and pineapples. The major constraint on further expansion of fruit production is the marketing system for these commodities, which is rather a mess. Perhaps the show could prove to be an occasion when a marketing brainwave is generated to deal with marketing fruits and other horticultural products.

Most of these fruits are marketed in the urban areas. The marketing tends to be seasonal -- i.e. during peak production -- which means that a lot of produce goes to waste because there is no organised system to get it to the market during the rest of the year. An improper marketing system plays havoc with prices, which may discourage farmers in turn. In the case of pineapples, a processing plant has been mooted time and

again. It would do well to get it going. The same could be said for the other fruits.

Livestock production has not been bad. But it could be better, particularly in the area of milk production, according to the provincial agricultural office. Animal production activities are mainly concentrated in the higher areas of the province. The province has about 25,000 head of graded cattle and about 700,000 head of Zebu cattle. Estimated milk production is about 13 million litres a year, of which 6 million litres are marketed. Efforts to increase the number of high-yielding breeds are being made; zero grazing has been introduced. To facilitate the transportation of milk to the KCC factories, Co-operative Societies are being encouraged. Artificial insemination is going up each year. Tremendous efforts in tick control have been made, according to the provincial director of veterinary services.

In terms of meat production, the number of ranches has grown to 30 (private, co-op, individual), with over 100,000 head of cattle. Of the Coast's 83,000 square kilometres, only 34 per cent has cropping potential. The rest is potentially range land, so a lot could be done in this direction. Lack of adequate water supplies, the death of immature animals for fattening, stock theft, diseases and destructive wildlife have been some of the constraints against the greater growth of coast ranging.

A substantial number of other animals exist for meat, milk and egg production. There were about half a million sheep in the province at end 1984, in addition to nearly a million goats for both meat and milk, 1.42 million (mainly meat) poultry, and 230,000 exotic birds for (mainly) egg production.

On the whole, the government is doing everything it can to boost agricultural production in the province. Money has been approved to improve coffee farms and production; under the National Poultry Development Project, cockerel exchange projects are in operation; the Agricultural Development Corporation is providing breeding stock and training farmers in pig farming; and the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development is carrying out extension services in the field through seminars, field days, training sessions at farmer's training colleges (FTCs) and through individual and group visits. The department of veterinary services has done a great job to keep livestock diseases at bay.

Coast farmers -- and the government and various other organisations -- can look proudly to their achievements in developing Coast agriculture. They will be able to show some of these achievements come August 29. They will also be able to, hopefully, pick up some useful ideas to improve their work and their production. And they will be able to meet old and make new friends.

Welcome, Mombasa Show!

CSO: 3400/34

KENYA

BRIEFS

BRITISH AID TRANSPORTATION SECTOR--The British High Commissioner to Kenya, Sir Leonard Allison, handed over to Kenya Railways Corporation's Managing Director, Mr. Julius Mimano, the last of five locomotives, extensively rehabilitated with British aid. The ceremony took place on July 18. All of KR's five Class 87 locomotives have now been rebuilt under the first phase of a British programme of assistance to Kenya Railways worth L3 million, under which is provided loco rehabilitation, spares and a number of consultancy studies which will assist the corporation to develop a comprehensive programme of action over the next few years. In his speech at the ceremony, Sir Leonard said that, since Independence, Britain has provided Kenya with close to L600 million in official aid, more than any other bilateral donor. "Our programme as a whole to Kenya is worth some L35 million annually, which means that Kenya is the largest recipient of British aid in Africa," said Sir Leonard. Indeed, Kenya is second only to India worldwide in British aid. Such aid has focussed mainly on the transport sector, along with energy, natural resources and manpower development. In the latter area, aid amounts to L10 million a year. In the transport sector, Britain has recently concluded its largest-ever aid project, the L20 million Thuchi-Nkubu road which links Embu and Meru. Britain has also given considerable assistance in the modernisation of Mombasa port, funding new equipment outlays and providing experts to help make the port most modern container terminal in East Africa. Kenya Railways has been especially deserving of British support, said Sir Leonard, not least "on account of our long association with it." [Text] [Nairobi E.A. REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUS-TRY in English Aug 85 p 16]

CSO: 3400/34

MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

CLOVES ORDER FROM JAKARTA--Indonesia has confirmed an order for 12,000 tonnes of cloves from Madagascar at 3.5 dollars per kilo, and intends purchasing a further 4,000 tonnes at a higher price by the end of the year. Other buyers are East Germany and the Soviet Union, each taking 500 tonnes. Last year Madagascar managed to get rid of only 5,000 tonnes of cloves, but at six dollars a kilo. The country's current annual production is 10,000 tonnes, and it is still holding large stocks from previous years when sales were also bad. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 6]

OIL DEAL WITH MOSCOW--Madagascar and the Soviet Union recently signed an agreement covering continued deliveries of Soviet crude oil to the island in 1985 and 1986. Under the agreement Moscow has undertaken to supply 250,000 tonnes of oil a year, compared with the deliveries in 1984 of no more than 150,000 tonnes. Under an agreement which came into effect in March 1984 Antananarivo only pays cash [cash] for 30 percent of its oil bill, payments of the remaining 70 per cent being spread out over six years. Madagascar's oil consumption is estimated at 600,000 tonnes of crude per year, costing a total of 120 million dollars. Since the shut-down of the Tamatave refinery Madagascar has been exchanging its crude for refined products with the Compagnie Europeenne des Petroles run by Michel Doumeng, son of France's so-called "red billionaire", Jean-Baptiste Doumeng (see I.O.N. No 142). [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 6]

CSO: 3400/58

MOZAMBIQUE

SIGNIFICANCE OF ARMY'S NEW OFFENSIVE AGAINST RENAMO

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] A decisive development in the war between the Maputo government and the rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance, the MNR, has now taken place. It is important for two reasons: first, the government has taken the upper hand in the field for the first time for three years at least, and second, it has only managed it with substantial aid from at least three other countries, namely Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Ethiopia. It is noteworthy that this co-operation has been achieved without involving such international institutions as the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations.

In Maputo the authorities are still wary of proclaiming a great victory for the moment, even if they appear to have managed to wreck the MNR command established in the Gorongosa mountains of Sofala province. On August 28 they announced the capture of the "Banana House" base which was described as the rebels' general headquarters. Questioned by THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER, the MNR's Lisbon spokesman, Jorge Correia, denied it, saying the real H.W. and the base until recently of rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama was some 20 kilometres away. However, this second base was also under heavy attack in the middle of this week, and Mr Dhlakama had been forced to flee to a safer area to the north. Mr Correia admitted that the MNR forces were preparing to retreat in the face of intense military pressure, but he asserted that the rebels' radio communications continued to function normally, an important factor "given that a large number of our camps are mobile."

According to information obtained by THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER, the offensive in the Gorongosa mountains was not easy for the Mozambican Government forces. Five days after it began not only Zimbabwean but also Tanzanian reinforcements had to be parachuted in. Contrary to what was reported in our last issue, 400 Tanzanians actually took part in the fighting. Furthermore, 80 Ethiopian-naturalised Cubans were dispatched along with some 20 MiG-21 combat aircraft loaned by Addis Ababa. Mi-24 assault helicopters piloted by Soviet crews were also said to have taken part in the operation.

Zimbabwe, which has so far supplied the bulk of the foreign troops employed in the offensive, spelled out the purpose of the operation as far as it was concerned. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said on September 7 the aim was to

eliminate the MNR from Mozambique's three central provinces of Manica, Sofala and Tete, whose communications were vital for Zimbabwe's trade. To this end, latest reports said fighting was still raging round the Gogogo base dubbed the "Military Academy" by the rebels, for it is from there that the attacks were launched against the oil pipeline, the road and the railway linking landlocked Zimbabwe with the Mozambican port of Beira. Simultaneously, the Mozambican army is attempting to clear the Manhica and Magude districts of Maputo Province which are virtually under rebel control and are used as the bases for attacks against the suburbs of the capital.

The rebels originally said they would capture Maputo city by the end of the year. Now the government forces have around six weeks, until the beginning of the rainy season, to strike a fatal blow at the guerrillas. To quote President Samora Machel's metaphor, the back of the snake may be broken, but the tail can still lash.

CSO: 3400/58

MOZAMBIQUE

PRAWN SHIPS SAIL TO DURBAN FOR REPAIRS

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 13 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

THE return to Durban for repairs of three former Durban-based prawn trawlers which were sold to Mozambique in 1977 has been hailed as "the Nkomati Accord in action".

Dr Joshua Serfontein, Chief Director (Marine) of the Department of Sea Fisheries, said today: "It is really wonderful that the accord is achieving things like this.

"We are not just catching Mozambique's fish. We are helping them get their trawling industry back on its feet."

He said that in terms of the accord, South Africa had provided Mozambique with a R2-million loan to enable it to repair its trawler fleet. The loan was financed by charging the South African fishermen fishing in Mozambican waters for the fish they caught.

The three trawlers were part of a fleet of 13 belonging to Ifcor, a Durban-based prawn-fishing company. The company was bankrupted in late 1976 after Mozambique extended the limit of its territorial waters to 200 miles.

The ships were built in Durban in the early 1970s at a cost of about R4 million.

When the company was liquidated, 11 of the trawlers were bought for R935 000 by an Argentinian-German consortium.

The consortium had the trawlers converted by South African ship-repair companies into short-range trawlers suitable for Argentinian conditions. The cost was about R40 000 each.

Applications were asked for people to sail the boats to the Argentine. Before the trawlers set sail, however, eight of them were resold to Mozambique for about R300 000 each.

They were reconverted into medium-range craft, with the capacity to spend 12 to 15 days at sea, at a cost of R15 000 each.

A series of legal tangles followed the insolvency of the company. The company repairing the trawlers said they had been asked not to make any Press statements about the job.

It is believed that another three of the trawlers could be on their way to Durban for repairs. What became of the other two is not known.

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

JEWISH HELP--The American Jewish World Service was expected to deliver medical equipment and drugs worth a total of 750,000 dollars to Mozambique on September 15. Mozambique is seen as a priority country by this association of American Jews, which is headed by Laurence Simon, a former director of Oxfam America who has already been active in Mozambique. The AJWS intends to finance a number of long-term development projects in the country. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in French 21 Sep 85 p 6]

BRAZIL HALTS CREDIT LINE--Brazil has decided to suspend a 250 million dollar line of credit extended to Mozambique "because of the economic crisis" affecting both countries, the Brazilian charge d'affaires in Maputo, Paulo Jopper Crissiuma, said on September 6. He said that Brazil had been Mozambique's principal economic partner between 1978 and 1981, but their co-operation had been reduced since. Now Brasilia wished to expand it again, particularly in sectors like water power and the textile industry, Mr Crissiuma said. Maputo's debt to Brasilia currently totals 175 million dollars. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 6]

CSO: 3400/58



NAMIBIA

DECADE TO EXPLOIT GAS STRIKE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Sep 85 p 14

[Text]

**WINDHOEK** — The extensive gas field off the Namibian coast could be 10 years away from full production, says the gas concession holder Swakor (Southern Oil Exploration Corporation).

In a statement issued in Windhoek, Swakor said that the costs involved in probing the Kudu gas field off the Luderitz and Oran-jemund coast would be enormous.

It was estimated that test wells would cost about R12 million each to drill. The drilling of such test holes would be the only way of confirming seismic surveys of the areas carried out earlier this year which had indicated that there could be a considerable quantity of gas in a 190 square kilometre area inside Namibian territorial waters, said the company.

An economic feasibility study, which will probe possible markets and potential demand, as well as

look into production and manufacturing processes and costs, has been commissioned with a view to determining whether gas production would be a profitable undertaking.

The study is expected to be completed by the end of this year, and if its conclusions are optimistic, then Swakor will call for partners to become involved in the drilling of test holes.

It was envisaged a further test well would be drilled towards the end of 1987, said the swakor statement.

If all the preliminary steps are completed successfully, detailed planning of the project could start in 1988, with the earliest construction beginning in 1990, with a completion date of late in 1994.

Initial estimates put the value of the Kudu field at many thousands of millions of rand.

CSO: 3400/51

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

SECURITY MEN 'MALTREAT CIVILIANS'--Windhoek--The leader of the Namibian Christian Democratic Party (NCDP), Mr Hans Rohr, yesterday blamed the South West Africa Transitional Government for alleged maltreatment of civilians by security force members in the north of the territory. By its own definition "the so-called Cabinet is collectively responsible for security matters," Mr Rohr told a news conference in Windhoek. He said a civilian, Mrs Sarah Paulus and her 13-year-old son, Joel, had been beaten up by members of a Security Police counter-insurgency unit (Coin) at their home near Onanjokwe in Northern SWA on September 1. Two weeks later, her husband, Marcus, visited his wife in hospital but was allegedly driven away by Coin members in his own vehicle. The NCDP leader said three White Coin members had called on Mrs Paulus at about lunchtime and cornered her in a bedroom. They had asked about the whereabouts of an alleged Swapo insurgent, a certain Mr Shikongo, but when she denied she knew him, they had allegedly begun beating her up, using a broomstick and a length of hosepipe at one stage. Mr Rohr said the men had tied up her hands and feet and taken her outside where she watched while they dug a shallow grave. She was allegedly buried head down to the shoulders and lost consciousness. After being beaten up again, Mrs Paulus was untied, he said--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 3]

CABINET ENFORCES DISCRIMINATION ACT--Windhoek--The South West African Transitional Cabinet has decided to enforce strictly the provisions of the Abolition of Racial Discrimination Act of 1979. In a statement issued in Windhoek yesterday, the Cabinet said it had come to its attention that a number of hotels, restaurants and other public places were refusing to serve certain people on the grounds of race and colour. Anyone who was refused service could lodge charges at any police station or the Department of Economic Affairs for investigation and prosecution. Contravention of the Act carried a penalty of a \$300 fine or three months' imprisonment, the statement said. Licence holders could also be requested to declare in writing that they did not run their businesses in violation of the Act. If they refused to make such a statement, their business licences would be cancelled. "The provisions of the law will be strictly carried out by the authorities," the Cabinet statement said--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 16]

SOMALIA

# UNITED STATES DENIES NUCLEAR WASTE DEAL

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 14 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] A report on September 7 by the clandestine Somali opposition Radio Halgan that Mogadishu had leased 800 square kilometres of central Somalia's Mudug and Nogal provinces for 600 million dollars to the United States for the dumping of nuclear waste was "pure fabrication", a senior official in the regional bureau for Africa of Washington's Paris embassy told THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER. The report by the Ethiopian-based radio said the deal was concluded at the beginning of August during a meeting in Mogadishu between Somali president Mohamed Siad Barre and visiting general Robert Kingstun, commander of Washington's rapid deployment force.

I.O.N.--These allegations, which were repeated by the Kenyan press, appear very unlikely, given the size of the figures quoted. They are equivalent to the total cost of the enormous Bardhere dam project, and seem astronomical compared with the 40 million dollars Washington pays annually to use the military and naval base at Berbera. But above all, as the U.S. diplomat in Paris pointed out, a meeting between president Siad and general Kingston would have been impossible as at the time of the U.S. officer's visit during the Bright Star manoeuvres (see I.O.N. N<sup>o</sup>193) the Somali head of state was in Casablanca, Morocco.

CSO: 3400/53

SOUTH AFRICA

SADCC CLAIM RSA DESTABILIZATION COST R25,000

Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL in English 20-26 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Pat Sidley]

[Text]

DAYS before South Africa's latest raid into Angola was made public, member states of the SADCC claimed that South African destabilisation had already cost them about R25 000-million in the past five years.

The costs were detailed in a SADCC paper which was used as a background document for a major conference on apartheid held in Holland last weekend. It called for strong sanctions measures to be taken against South Africa and for the stepping up of aid programmes to the Frontline States and liberation movements.

The conference, "Apartheid and Southern Africa: The West European Response" was organised by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa with the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid and the Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation.

Members states of the SADCC (South African Development Coordination Conference) are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The SADCC claimed the amount of R25 000-million included:

- \* R3 000-million for direct war damage incurred in the South African invasions of Angola, Botswana,

Mozambique and Lesotho, as well as "its clandestine commando raids on bridges and oil terminals, and its support for puppet anti-government groups"

- \* R7 000-million for extra defence expenditure — for larger and better-equipped armies, "as well as expanded people's militias"

- \* R2 515-million for increased transport costs, including costs of sabotaged powerlines and oil installations and the transport of fuel;

- \* R1 650-million in refugee costs, and

- \* R5 000-million in lost economic growth, calculated on the basis that money spent on higher military budgets and repairing of damage should have been allocated to development projects.

"Those opposed to sanctions argue that they will hurt the neighbouring states. Undoubtedly this is true. But, if it accelerated the ending of apartheid it would be well worth the additional cost. Those who are concerned about the negative effects of sanctions on the neighbouring states should provide assistance to those states to minimise that impact", the SADCC paper said.

"The very existence of SADCC threatens South Africa's economic stranglehold on the region. If SADCC states were free to use the most convenient and cheapest ports and railways, and free to buy fuel and

other goods on the world market, their dependence on South Africa would be sharply reduced. Sanctions would then not hurt so much.

"So South Africa destabilises its neighbours to keep them dependent, so that they will be harmed by sanctions," the paper said.

A statement issued by the congress at the end of its three-day meeting said: "We will try to convince every European not to hide behind the refusal of the government of Great Britain to take measures ... sanctions are all the more necessary now that the Botha regime shows signs of hesitation."

The congress called for a comprehensive arms embargo, the prohibition of all forms of nuclear collaboration, the promotion of disinvestment, the banning of all new investments and an end to loans credit and the transfer of technology.

It also called for an end to trade and "all other relations with the apartheid system" and for an adequate monitoring system to see this was enforced.

Also attending the conference were high-level delegations from Swapo and the ANC, as well as two people from South Africa: Zac Jacob of the Natal Indian Congress and Dr W Kistner, deputy general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANNUAL COST OF OIL SANCTIONS ESTIMATED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20-26 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Pat Sidley]

[Text]

THE international oil embargo costs South Africa R5 billion a year.

This was the figure presented to a conference on apartheid last weekend in Amsterdam.

According to a paper compiled by the Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau, South Africa pays R3-billion a year in crude oil imports, and spends another R2-billion annually to circumvent the existing embargo.

The paper, called "West European Companies Breaking the Oil Embargo against South Africa", says the money is spent on premiums to companies and middlemen, on a vast stockpile, on oil exploration and on Sasol installation and production costs.

The costs annually are broken down as follows:

- Sasol — R2 250-million in "extra costs of oil products manufactured"

- Stockpile — R125-million preparing old mines and R1 325-million in lost interest on the stock

- Off-shore exploration for oil (Soekor) — R5-million

- Premiums to companies and middlemen — R7,5-million

- Other costs not estimated include the loss of potential export earnings of coal used by Sasol (about 32-million tons a year), pollution costs and ecological damage, the cost of under-utilisation of conventional refineries, compensation costs to oil companies, costs of production loss, repairs and security of energy installations because of sabotage.

| To be able to pay these extra costs,

the South African government has set up a complex system of special funds, the paper says.

The main ones are the newly-transformed Central Energy Fund, the Strategic Fuel Fund and the Equalisation Fund.

The paper says the funds have been kept secret, although they will now be scrutinised by parliament.

The funds are raised by taxpayers' and consumers' money and financed by various levies on liquid fuel consumption.

The paper reports a number of "oil scandals" reported in the South African press on the Salem affair, on allegations of misspendings and corruption, on mysterious court cases in which large sums for commission are claimed, on premiums paid to oil traders and on alleged "irregularities" by officials involved in management of these funds.

The Equalisation Fund, the paper says, was established to compensate the subsidiaries of Western oil companies refining oil in South Africa (Mobil, Caltex, Shell, BP and Total) for their abnormal costs of crude oil purchases. "The fund acts as a buffer levelling prices of crude oil purchases from abroad," says the paper.

In 1984, according to the paper, R1 000-million of the Equalisation Fund was spent to pay the increase of crude oil import prices.

The paper says the costs of the three Sasol plants so far are estimated at R25-billion. Crude oil imports have been reduced by Sasol by 35 percent. It comments: "This partial self-

sufficiency, however, tends to decrease rather than to increase, as was recognized by the South African Director-General of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Louw Alberts (who noted that) 'this reduction of crude oil imports is less than the quantity of crude oil replaced by the Sasol production of fuels because of growth in market demand'."

The paper says another investment of up to R50-billion by 1995 would be needed to bring about 70 percent self-sufficiency, and after that one new plant would have to be built every three years.

Soekor has spent more than R500-million so far looking for oil. The recent Mossel Bay gas find, the paper says, would cost R2,5-billion to develop.

The paper comments on the secrecy surrounding South Africa's oil purchase in a section entitled "Secrecy is Essential".

It quotes Minister F W de Klerk saying to parliament in 1983: "The struggle against boycotts is by no means over. U N attempts to prevent crude oil deliveries to South Africa continue. Any relaxation in respect of secrecy can help to spotlight the target and enable our enemies to identify our friends and partners who deliver to us."

The paper describes the legislation requiring secrecy and says as a result the oil trade with South Africa is probably "the largest secret trade in history. Annually about 15-million tons of crude oil with a value of about \$3-billion disappear from world statistics. The reason is: this volume is sold and shipped to South Africa."

These deliveries are surrounded by "malpractices and fraud" like false destinations, forged certificates, bribes, false sets of logbooks.

CSO: 3400/18

SOUTH AFRICA

## REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION UNDER ONE MINISTRY ANNOUNCED

For All Races

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

THE Government was not "dragging its feet" on the implementation of its 1983 White Paper proposing equal education opportunities for all, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

He said it was widely believed that the Government was delaying implementation of the White Paper, but the opposite was in fact the case.

However, the "necessary machinery and structures" had had to be established first, he said in Pretoria at a Press briefing.

The Minister announced:

- The names of the 26 members of the multi-racial South African Council for Education (SACE) which will give advice on general policy;
- The introduction during the next Parliamentary session of legislation to establish three "certification councils" for different types of education qualifications;
- Forthcoming legislation providing for full membership, including voting rights, of Blacks on the Committee of Univer-

sity Principals (Cup) and the Committee of Technikon Principals (CTP);

- A policy for the registration and subsidisation of private schools;
- A qualification structure for universities in South Africa; and
- The composition and membership of the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (UTAC).

### Minister

"The most important development that has taken place (since the White Paper), and which to my mind has not been sufficiently noted and appreciated by the public at large, is the creation of a new Department of National Education," Mr De Klerk said.

"For the first time in history, South Africa now has a Minister of Education and an Education Department which, in respect of certain important matters, serves the country as a whole and consequently all population groups."

He said a further important development was the approval last year of the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, in which the

Government defined four spheres in which the Minister responsible could determine the general policy to be applied to formal, informal and non-formal education for all population groups in South Africa.

The four areas were:

- Norms and standards for the financing of running and capital costs of education for all population groups;
- Salaries and conditions of employment of staff;
- The professional registration of teachers; and
- Norms and standards for syllabuses and examination and for certification of qualifications.

"The general policy I am authorised to determine is the unifying factor in our education system," Mr De Klerk said.

#### **Centralised**

The Government had decided the system of education regarding the

four defined areas should be a centralised one.

"This step has meant that full effect has been given to the proposals contained in the Human Sciences Research Council report regarding a single Ministry for the determination of national education policy," he said.

With the creation and establishment of the necessary structures, he was now in a position to make "real progress with in the foreseeable future with the important matter of norms and standards in various areas of general education policy," he said.

Draft policy for certain areas had already been formulated and the Government was now "seriously" devoting its energies to the formulation of further general policy, with more announcements possible within a few months, Mr De Klerk said. — Sapa.

### **Legislation Sought to Equalize Higher Education**

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

THE Government intends introducing legislation next year to bring Black universities and technikons into the mainstream of the university and technikon education system.

The proposed legislation will give Blacks full representation for the first time on the Committee of University Principals (CUP) and the Committee of Technikon Principals (CTP), which presently consist only of Whites, Coloureds and Indians. Black representatives are now only allowed to attend meetings.

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, told reporters

at a briefing yesterday the proposed legislation would give Black principals full sitting membership, including voting rights.

Mr De Klerk was supplying details of the Government's implementation of its White Paper on Education, issued in November 1983.

#### **Functions**

The legislation would also extend the functions of The CUP and CTP, he said.

"In this way the six universities that principally serve Black people will enter the mainstream of the university education system in South Africa,



and all technikon principals of technikons established by Parliament will become full members of the CTP," he said.

Legislation would also be introduced during the next session of Parliament to regulate the determination of admission requirements for university students in a new way.

"In terms of this, the CUP, with the approval of the Minister of National Education, will have to determine admission requirements for university study."

The bodies issuing the certificates of those candidates that met the Cup's admission requirements would endorse the certificates to the effect that candidates could be granted admission to a university.

#### Decision

The decision as to whether a specific student will in fact be enrolled at a university will rest with the university council.

concerned," Mr De Klerk said.

At present, candidates for degree studies at a university must have a matriculation or matriculation exemption certificate.

The matriculation examination is conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB) and the school leavers' examinations of the various education departments are controlled by the JMB as far as university admission is concerned.

"According to the new arrangement, the JMB — at present a body of more than 40 members — will cease to exist in its present form."

"It will be reconstituted, towards the end of 1986, as a statutory subcommittee of the CUP and will consist of a maximum of eight members and a chairman," Mr De Klerk said. — Sapa.

#### First Move for Equal Education

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

LEGISLATION providing for the establishment of three certification councils for different types of educational qualifications will be introduced during the next session of Parliament, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Their purpose would be to ensure the certificates issued on behalf of these councils by different education departments and other examining bodies would represent the same standard of education and examination.

Mr De Klerk was briefing journalists in Pretoria on progress made with the implementation of the Government's 1983 White Paper on Education.

He emphasised the Government was not dragging its feet in implementing the policies envisaged but that the "necessary machinery" had had to be established first. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/48

SOUTH AFRICA

NAUDE SAYS PEOPLE LOSING FAITH IN PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Sep 85 p 22

[Article by Estelle Trengove]

[Text]

Millions of people in South Africa have lost faith in non-violent resistance and the Church is to blame for failing to prove that peaceful methods can bring about change.

This is the view of Dr Beyers Naude, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. He spoke to *The Star* about his views on civil disobedience as a means of resistance.

It has become a hotly debated topic in church circles, but civil disobedience is nothing new, he pointed out.

"The Afrikaners are probably forgetting — or maybe they were never aware of it — that the Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika made a decision in 1916, shortly after the 1914 Rebellion, that resistance was justified when the actions of the authorities were contrary to the 'Divine Law' or the 'freedom of the people'. In other words, it does not only concern religious freedom, but also political freedom," Dr Naude said.

He said he believed the Christian church in South Africa, as well as other religious groups and organisations that condemned violence, had seriously neglected discovering and identifying in time the feelings of frustration and suffering in the black community. They had therefore also neglected planning a strategy for peaceful resistance against injustice.

"The lessons taught by Gandhi and Martin Luther King — we neither understood them, nor did we take them seriously enough. We did not give any thought to what strategy we should follow to prevent a situation where millions of people in our country have lost faith in non-violent resistance," Dr Naude said.

"Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak are continuously being challenged by militant black youths saying to them: 'Prove to us that you with your peaceful methods are achieving more than we are, with our stones and our petrol bombs,'" he said.

In the present situation in South Africa, this militant spirit was growing in the black community, especially among the youth, he said.

If Christians or the Christian Church were convinced violence could never be a satisfactory way of changing unjust structures or situations, then it was up to them to prove that those structures or situations could be overcome by well-planned, carefully considered and responsible actions of passive resistance or civil disobedience.

"Unless we prove that non-violent actions have the inherent power to bring about change, we cannot blame those living under conditions of injustice and suppression if they come to the conclusion that vio-

lence is the only way to bring about fundamental change," Dr Naude said.

He emphasised that his and the SACC's motivation for supporting civil disobedience was Biblical, not political. It was based on examples from the Old and New Testaments, where people were forced to disobey the authorities in their efforts to remain obedient to God.

"I believe Christians not only have a right, but a duty to disobey a specific law or policy of the authorities — it is their duty to be obedient to God first and foremost," Dr Naude said.

It was difficult to predict what form civil disobedience would take, he said.

Consumer boycotts, peaceful demonstrations and strikes were examples of civil disobedience that were widely recognised in the Western world as legitimate ways to express frustration.

Dr Naude said the Church had the structure and organisation to organise mass civil actions, but the it had not yet done the necessary education and mobilisation to launch such actions.

Earlier this year, Dr Naude received wide publicity for the statement he made on civil disobedience during the SACC national conference.

He told the conference that the hope for peaceful change in South Africa could only be sustained "if the Christian community initiates and supports more meaningful and effective non-violent actions including well-planned actions of civil disobedience".

The next day, Dr Naude was warned in a message from the Minister of Law and Order that encouraging civil disobedience could lead to confrontation with the authorities.

The hornets' nest was stirred again when the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced that he was prepared to speak only to people who renounced violence and civil disobedience.

In reaction, the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said that unless Mr Botha dropped the second condition, he would not join a delegation of church leaders which met with Mr Botha in August.

The President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Reverend Peter Storey, said afterwards that "members of the delegation that went to speak to the State President in Pretoria on August 19 would not have gone had they been required to renounce civil disobedience beforehand".

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR ON ENGLISH AS UNIFYING FORCE IN NATION'S FUTURE

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 10 Sep 85 p 14

[Article by Professor Dirk Meerkotter of Potchefstroom University: "English the Unifying Force in the Future South Africa"]

[Text]

THE aims of this contribution are to point out how a forced separatist policy caused the decay of Afrikaans, why Black vernaculars could not become first languages for the majority of people in this country and why English is viewed by most people in South Africa as the language through which they would prefer their children to be educated.

Decay of Afrikaans

Of the more than 10 million users of Afrikaans over 4 million have Afrikaans as a home language and although Afrikaans is seen as an important language by English-speaking South Africans and more Blacks use Afrikaans in their work environment than English (Prinsloo, 1984), it seems as though Afrikaans is often used for pragmatic reasons than for reasons relating to an attitude in speakers of other languages to actually want to speak the language.

Afrikaans is an important language for the employee and anyone wishing to communicate with the civil service. But there is a tremendous difference between speaking the language because one experiences the urge as a matter of the heart and being given no alternative than to speak the language.

The abusive way in which Afrikaans is often used on job sites and even publically, could definitely not be viewed as having a positive, generating effect on the future of Afrikaans.

One could argue that the separatist attitudes of Afrikaners had a more negative effect on the mental health of some Whites than on the sanity of Blacks and that a language in which racist prejudices are expressed, could hardly be seen as a language suitable for educating one's children in.

A more liberal and humanistic philosophy of life is portrayed in the English language than in Afrikaans. One needs only to think about all the exclusive Pietersburg-thinking that surrounded, and still surrounds the Afrikaans church (es). Could it be that the reason why 97 percent of all immigrant children who haven't got English as a mother language go to English medium schools, lies in the possibility that the Afrikaner's way of thinking exclusively makes people feel more welcome amongst English-speaking South Africans?

If this is the case for immigrants who after a relatively short period even get electoral rights, then undoubtedly a large proportion of native South Africans apart from not being allowed to attend Afrikaans medium schools, would feel more uneasy in situations where Afrikaans carries thoughts.

The open-mindedness that ought to have come from the Reformation, of which the Calvinist movement formed part, resulted, to a large extent, in a narrow, exclusivist view of life amongst many White South Africans.

One of the tragic outcomes of a somewhat rigid philosophy of life happened to become binding factors such as colour, race and language instead of unity in Christ.

If the Afrikaner's children's future is to form part of a future in South Africa, it speaks for itself that Afrikaans has to rid itself from a colonialist and often arrogant stigma that has become, together with an exclusivist philosophy of life, part and parcel of the language.

On the positive side could be stressed that Afrikaans is growing very well amongst certain speakers in the Cape Coloured community. This could be due to the fact that Afrikaans (or "Kaaps") is used as a political instrument by means which one could associate with the worker.

#### Black Vernaculars

The future of languages lies not only in numbers, but also in the quality of life that its mastery ensures. Although Afrikaans and some Black languages have a substantial number of speakers, there might be factors beyond numbers that limit the utilization of languages as educational vehicles. More so than in the case of Afrikaans, and for different reasons, Black languages in South Africa are on their way out as educational languages.

In spite of the fact that a language like Zulu has a great number of speakers and has become the lingua franca amongst Blacks in South Africa, few economically and politically influential citizens use it.

The pragmatic value of Zulu is limited to communication on an informal level and it cannot be used as a "scientific" language as in the sense of English, German or French. If the educational future for Zulu, the most important Black language in South Africa, looks gloomy, then the other Black vernaculars will probably be worse off.

The future in an industrialized South Africa undoubtedly lies with the acceptance of the fact that the principle of mother tongue instruction at all costs may be less sound in certain situations than has previously been "suspected".

It is evident that the vernacular is very important in educating young pre-school children, but as the years go by an international vehicle for scientific discussion becomes vital for the maturing pupil.

#### English, Unifying Force

The employment of dividing factors such as colour and language and the thrusting back of unity in Christ in some circles did not keep English from rising as a trans-cultural force in South Africa.

English, lingua franca in South Africa, forms the gateway to the rest of the world, lends itself to scientific research and is therefore a valuable educational language. English, furthermore, portrays the thoughts about political freedom of the majority of people in this country.

The English and Black press (which is also English) have sided with the oppressed. Where Afrikaans has been colonialized by the Afrikaners, English has been Africanized by Africa.

#### In Conclusion

One values the possibility of multilingualism and cross-cultural education but the reality, though, points to a practice in which Afrikaans could, due to political fragmentational thought, diminish from an official language for the Republic to a first language in a specific region or regions.

Dominant Black languages on the other hand, could for reasons other than the political, become languages to express little more than the ethnical values and views of life.

South Africa is moving towards monolingualism in the sense of having a particular language as first language. This could also allow for a situation in which certain regional languages emerge as "second" official languages.

English in opposition to Afrikaans could become the unifying educational force in South Africa if Afrikaans does not rid itself of an ill and very negative exclusivist stigma. Reformist (not revolutionary) ideas have to be printed in Afrikaans in order to convince potential users of the language of its intentions for a free and open South Africa.

The survival strategies for Afrikaans as an educational official second (or possibly first) language to South Africa will differ from strategies for vernaculars which should not put their sights on more than well-established (and loved) home languages.

[Boxed item, pg 14]

By Professor Dirk Meerkotter of Potchefstroom University.

Professor Meerkotter matriculated in 1966 at the Linden Afrikaans High School in Johannesburg after which he obtained his BA-degree from the University of Pretoria and his Transvaal Teachers Higher Diploma at the Johannesburg College of Education.

He taught at several Transvaal schools before

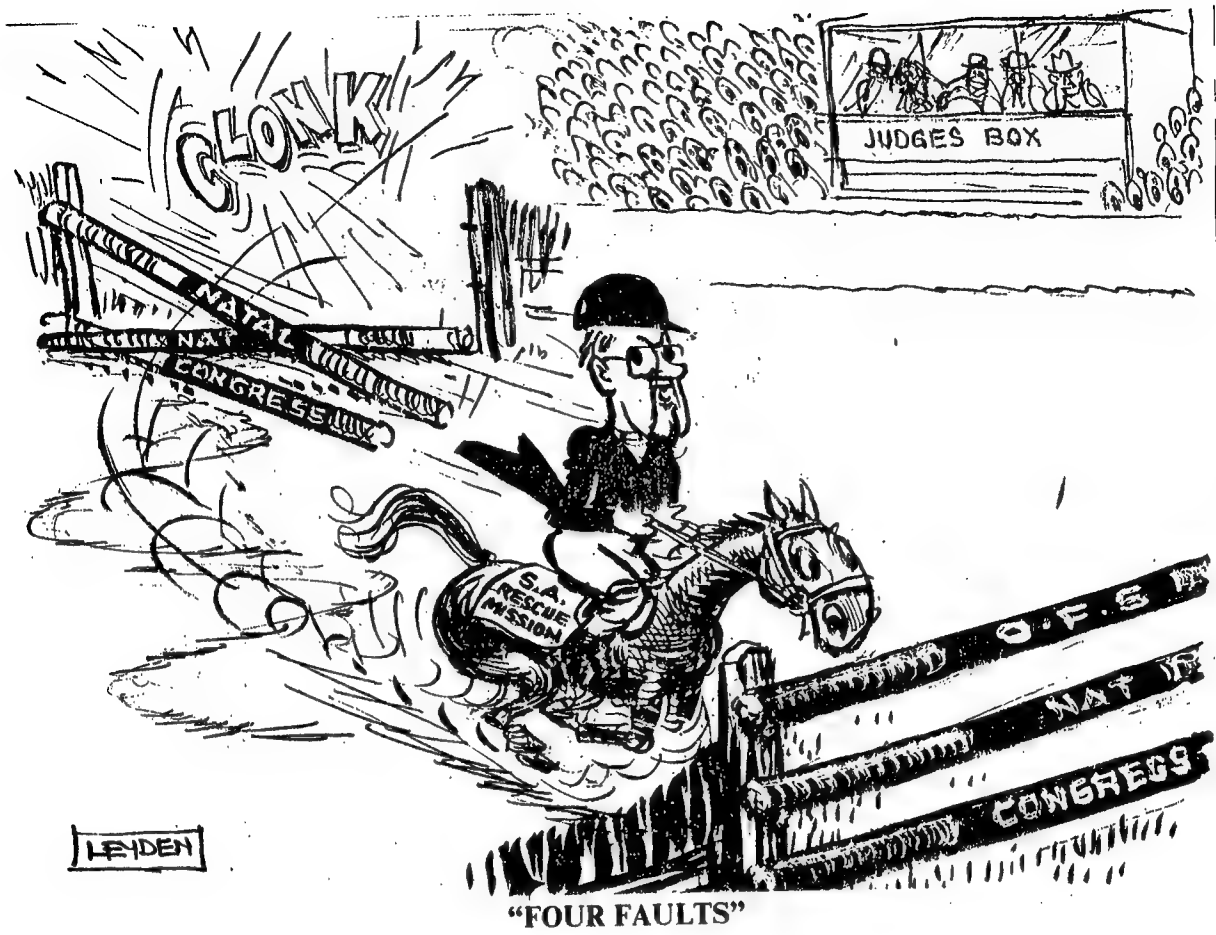
he was appointed lecturer and later senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the Rand Afrikaans University where he obtained a D.Ed. degree in 1980.

Since 1983 Professor Meerkotter has held a chair in the Department of Instructional Science at the Vaal Triangle Campus of the Potchefstroom University.

He was appointed Deputy Dean of the Faculty in

1984. He took part in several research projects and seminars in Germany (1976), the United Kingdom (1981 and 1984) and Israel (1985).

He is interested in politics, music, art and education and has delivered more than a hundred talks on these matters for the SABC. Professor Meerkotter has published widely on educational themes between 1977 and 1985.



CSO: 3400/56

SOUTH AFRICA

EMERGING POLITICAL REALIGNMENTS STUDIED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 18 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Article: "South Africa: After Botha"]

[Text]

With the government consistently failing to take any political initiative, the meeting in **Zambia** on 13 September between the *African National Congress* (ANC) and a high-level delegation of South African businessmen and public figures might be a vital first step towards some form of negotiation. At this early stage of contact differences of outlook and ideology are inevitable, but the six-hour meeting, chaired by President **Kenneth Kaunda** at his lodge in Luangwa national park, was remarkably forthright. Both sides had a common interest in their dismay at the way President **Pieter Botha** is handling the crisis in South Africa.

The point of departure for the discussions was the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter - a mildly socialist and vague blueprint for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. The following points emerged out of the discussion at Luangwa:

- While the ANC rejected the concept of a national convention, it is open to negotiation when the time is right.
- There can be no talk of a truce in the ANC's armed struggle until the structures of apartheid are abolished.
- The ANC does not intend to hit at civilians, but as confrontation increases it is inevitable that more civilians will be killed.
- There will have to be partial nationalisation of large industries.
- The ANC is prepared to discuss a time-frame for a transition to a full universal franchise but rejects permanent constitutional guarantees for the white minority.
- The ANC is prepared to discuss the protection of individual human rights in line with an American-type bill of rights.
- While ANC policy is broadly Marxist-socialist, it is refreshingly devoid of Marxist-Leninist dogma and appears open to negotiation.
- Both sides agree that further talks could lead to "fruitful conclusions."

Behind the unavoidable rhetoric about nationalisation and armed struggle, the ANC gave the impression it would expect to buy into the major business



conglomerates – such as *Anglo American*, *Sanlam* and *Barlow Rand* – but that it would allow the free enterprise system to continue intact during a phased transition period to full universal franchise. The businessmen replied that they were not averse to a state role in a mixed economy. (In fact the state already owns huge organisations like *Iscor*, *Escom*, *Sasol*, *SA Railways* and *SA Airways*). **Gavin Relly**, chairman of *Anglo American* and leader of the business delegation, said the ANC's positions were not as antagonistic as one might think. ANC leader **Oliver Tambo** made a point of complimenting the businessmen for attending the meeting despite prime minister Botha's disapproval. Observers reckoned the ANC came across at the meeting more as a social democratic movement. (Something of a showdown between the "moderate" and more rigidly socialist groups within the ANC might become inevitable).

The talks were the culmination of over 12 months of contacts and preparation. Informal talks between business and the ANC first took place in London late last year, with the London director of the *South Africa Foundation* (SAF), **David Willers**, playing a key role. Prior to that a senior journalist from the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, and a Capetown academic, Professor **H.W. Van der Merwe**, had visited the ANC in Lusaka. At a more formal meeting in London last January, the business representatives spelt out clearly that they had a vested interest in getting rid of apartheid and promoting fundamental reform. Both sides reported back to their head offices, which duly gave a favourable response.

**Hugh Murray**, the publisher of *Leadership SA*, who has good contacts at the highest level in Zambia, was then called in to act as an intermediary with the full backing of *Anglo American*. A meeting with the ANC was first scheduled for June, just before South African commandos raided Gaborone in **Botswana**. Because of that and the ANC's conference at Kabwe at the end of June (AC Vol 26 No 14), the meeting was postponed.

In July, Relly led a delegation to discuss with Kaunda how the meeting should go ahead and the view of frontline states on economic sanctions against South Africa. After Botha's disastrous 15 August speech in Durban, Relly flew to London to discuss tactics with Willers at SAF. By now it was clear that no heed would be paid to Botha's remonstrations about talking with the ANC. A week before the Luangwa meeting, Willers shared a television platform with the ANC's London representative, **Solly Smith**, arguing that there were important areas of common interest to be discussed, and that the situation in South Africa had "moved beyond sanctions because of the deteriorating and appalling internal political situation."

Thus the scene was set for the meeting at Kaunda's lodge. The nine-man ANC delegation, led by Oliver Tambo, included director of information **Thabo Mbeki** (son of **Govan Mbeki** who is serving a life sentence with **Nelson Mandela**), and the veteran ANC executive member "**Mac**" **Maharaj**.

Apart from Relly, the business delegation included **Tony Bloom**, chairman of *Premier Milling*; *Anglo* executive and former opposition politician **Zac de Beer**; director-general of the SAF, **Peter de Sorour**; Hugh Murray; **Tertius Myburgh**, editor of the mass-circulation *Sunday Times*; and **Harald Pakendorf**, editor of *Die Vaderland*. (Significantly there was no representative from the Afrikaner publishing house *Nasionale Pers* - whose flagship, *Beeld*, made contact with the ANC over a year ago. SAF president **Fred du Plessis** and the leading Afrikaner industrialist, **Anton Rupert**, withdrew from the delegation after Botha's warning against it).

Though the delegation did not have a formal mandate from organised business<sup>1</sup>, individual businessmen covering the full spectrum of business in South Africa gave their unequivocal blessing to it. And two weeks earlier organised business gave its backing to a declaration calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners prior to a national conference.

The government's reaction to the meeting was intemperate and ill-judged. Newspapers were banned from quoting what Tambo said after the meeting, and the *Newsweek* special report on South Africa was hastily banned. Though it has been suggested that Botha at one stage approved the idea of Fred du Plessis and others going to Zambia, he showed no sign of flexibility last week-end. He reiterated his refusal to talk "to any organisation or person that advocates violence", adding that he could not see what the meeting had achieved "other than to show weakness towards the enemies of South Africa". The belated advice from the President's Council on 12 September that the pass laws and influx control be abolished is beginning to look academic.

### **New alignments**

Now that the business community has so spectacularly ditched Botha, the pace of political realignment in South Africa is bound to increase. There are clear signs that *verligte National Party* members even in the cabinet are increasingly impatient with Botha's inability to step forward, for every step he makes is at least three months too late.

*Verligte* nationalists could not split the NP in their favour, so they would probably join with the *Progressive Federal Party* (PFP) under **Frederick van Zyl Slabbert** - an alliance which would not

necessarily be uncomfortable for foreign minister **Pik Botha** or minister of constitutional development **Chris Heunis**. A "convention alliance" has already been formed between the PFP, Chief **Gatsha Buthelezi's** Zulu-oriented *Inkatha* movement, the *Indian Solidarity Party* and various church and business organisations.

Shortly after the forming of the above alliance, Mandela issued a statement ditching any idea of holding a national convention, opting instead for negotiations to "discuss the mechanics of handing over power to the people of South Africa". The prospect of unity between the ANC-inclined *United democratic Front*, the *Azanian Peoples' Organisation* (AZAPO) and other black consciousness bodies has improved markedly.

While the shifting alliances are often hard to predict, one thing is certain: P.W. Botha's popularity nationwide is ebbing fast in the wake of the Durban speech – perhaps the biggest blunder in his political career. It might in due course lose him his job. Already, of his own volition, it has brought on the prospect of a legal battle which could prove extremely humiliating.

The country's leading financial publication, the *Financial Mail* (FM), hired a clinical psychiatrist to analyse Botha's "body language" during the speech. The 6 September issue of FM duly carried the verdict in the most scathing terms. In an editorial titled "Leave Now", the FM said Botha had "nothing more to offer and should therefore pay the appropriate penalty. . . the man is hopelessly out of his depth and should, forthwith, go into well-earned retirement". The psychiatrist's critique was equally uncomplimentary: "We are constantly aware of truculent, defiant, child-like behaviour in all his gestures. We are aware of anxiety behind the mask-like posture. His words have one message. His body-language says another. . . it reveals the angry child".

Last week Botha's lawyers asked the FM for the name of the psychiatrist and confirmed that the enquiry was with the view to legal action.

Time is vital. The abolition of the cornerstones of apartheid is well underway, but too late, probably, to assuage black activists. Out of new alignments might come direct negotiations with blacks over power-sharing. Like the Zambia meeting, negotiations could be with or without the government. But that will be accompanied by fierce resistance from the Afrikaner right-wing – the *Conservative Party*, the *Herstigste Nasional Party* and yet more extreme Afrikaner movements, some of them of a terrorist complexion. We will report in detail in a forthcoming issue.

FOOTNOTE

1. Organised business is represented by the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), the SA Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), the Afrikaner Handelsinstitut (AHI), the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) and the South Africa Foundation (SAF), a non-political umbrella body which has been instrumental in paving the way for business unity on sensitive political issues.

CSO: 3400/57

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK RESEARCH SURVEY ON BLACK, COLORED, INDIAN ATTITUDES

Durban POST NATAL in English 18-21 Sep 85 p 10

[Text]

**A SURVEY by the Institute for Black Research on attitudes in the African, coloured and Indian communities, following last month's township unrest, has uncovered significant shifts in political alignments and increased polarisation ...**

**T**HE Institute for Black Research survey findings hold important implications for political groupings active in the communities, as it records that African political sentiment was radicalised, while coloureds and particularly Indians became more conservative.

Inkatha lost considerable support to the United Democratic Front in the African community, as did Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

At the same time coloureds and Indians threw their weight behind the State President, Mr PW Botha.

And although the UDF maintained its backing from these communities, the Natal Indian Congress lost support.

The big question facing these political groupings must now be how to regain lost support, or, in the case of the UDF, capitalise on new-found support.

The shifts in alignment were reflected in the following detailed findings:

■ The biggest number of Africans (54

percent) supported Mr Mandela, while only five percent supported Chief Buthelezi. This contrasted strongly with a similar 1979 survey by the Institute which showed only three percent support for Mr Mandela and a massive 45 percent support for Chief Buthelezi.

■ The biggest number of Indians (53 percent) supported President, Mr PW Botha, as did the biggest number of coloureds (31 percent).

■ Support for Inkatha in the African community dropped from 20 percent to five percent as a result of the unrest, while support for the UDF increased from 36 percent to 56 percent.

■ Support for the UDF maintained itself at 11 percent in the coloured community and dropped from 15 percent to 14 percent in the Indian community.

A large number of respondents (69 percent of coloureds and 65 percent

of Indians) said they had not supported any political organisation before the unrest. Although many still did not afterwards, the percentages dropped (to 56 percent and 49 percent respectively).

The report concludes: "The unrest had a definite politicising effect on the residents."

Further differences in perception by the communities were evident in the differing responses to the questions ... *what incidents started the trouble and who were the targets?*

■ African people overwhelmingly attributed the outbreak of the trouble to police instigation (56 percent) and Inkatha provocation (21 percent) rather than to student action (13 percent) or the murder of civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge.

But the biggest number of coloureds (30 percent) and Indians (37 percent) said they did not know what started the trouble.

■ African people saw the Government (46 percent) and informers (28 percent) as the main targets of attack, and few (eight percent) saw Indians as the targets.

But coloureds saw the targets as businesses (39 percent) and as Indians (27 percent); while Indians themselves felt they had been the main targets (45 percent), as well as businesses (26 percent).

The survey found a generally high level of agreement that the reason why Indians were at-

tacked at Inanda was simply that they got caught in the middle of the unrest. However, there was a significant feeling among Africans (51 percent) that the attacks were also the result of people taking the opportunity of the unrest to steal.

The report expressed criticism of media coverage of the unrest, but in one case it blamed the media for influencing the coloured and Indian communities, and in another it said a certain media emphasis was not accepted by the communities.

The survey found 57 percent of Indians and 50 percent of coloureds relied on the media for their information, while only 15 percent of Africans gained their information in the same way.

Seventy-eight percent of Africans obtained their information through personal contact, 55 percent from personal observation of the unrest.

The report blamed prominent media coverage of the attacks for the differences in perspective between the communities as to who was the target of the unrest.

But, conversely, it stressed that media emphasis on the positive role of Inkatha in controlling unrest was only accepted by a small percentage of respondents (African — two percent; coloured — three percent; Indian — less than one percent).

A high number of African respondents said they did not know who helped stop the riots.

SOUTH AFRICA

BOYCOTTING STUDENTS ROAM STREETS, CRIME WAVE INCREASING

Johannesburg CITY PRESS 15 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Sandile Memela: "What Happens at Exam-time?"]

[Text]

AS YOU read this, hundreds of thousands of black primary and high school pupils country-wide continue their classroom boycott and roam the streets — not knowing whether they will sit for their end-of-year exams.

The dilemma of pupils supporting the boycott — which has spread to coloured schools — is that they must either return to class or risk their studies. But the situation shows no signs of returning to normal.

School boycotts have become a feature of black education this year as students' frustration at their system of education exploded. Almost all schools country-wide have been affected.

Last week House of Representatives Education and Culture Minister Carter Ebrahim announced 454 of the 904 schools in the Western Cape were to close.

This means the Government has locked out 360 000 primary and high school pupils in the Western Cape — about half the coloured scholars in the area.

The Department of Education and Training has indefinitely suspended classes at schools in KwaThema, Duduza, Tsakane and Alexandra, and is considering closing others in Soweto.

Parents of boycotting pupils and community leaders have said they can't force their children to end the boycott.

Recently the homes of two Madi-bane High School teachers on a "hit list" allegedly drawn up by pupils enforcing boycotts were attacked after they punished pupils trying to keep others from school.

A private school in Diepkloof, Soweto, was forced to suspend classes indefinitely for the second time in a month after youths from nearby schools scaled the wall and stoned windows, disrupting classes and forcing pupils to flee.

As the final exams draw near there are no signs of panic or anxiety among pupils roaming the streets.

Instead a new crime wave has gripped Soweto to ensure no-one prepares for exams — students' books are burnt or torn up.

Pupils countrywide demand:

- That the school prefect-system be replaced by a student-elected SRC.
- The unconditional release of all students in detention.

- The withdrawal of SADF troops from the townships.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.

For the first time school unrest has spread to the areas of Naphuno district in Lebowa and Lenyenye near Tzaneen.

DET PRO Edgar Posselt this week said more than 160 primary and high schools countrywide were empty and 127 schools had attendances below 80 percent.

In the Eastern and Western Cape classrooms were deserted in more than 118 schools. — "the main trouble spots", he said. In Johannesburg, more than 20 schools in Soweto and Alexandra have no pupils. In the East Rand there is no attendance in about 7 schools. Attendance in other schools varies from 20 to 65 percent. There is a total boycott in only two schools in the Free State and Natal.

Mr Posselt said the matric exam time-table — scheduled to begin on October 25 — remained unchanged. No decision had been reached on primary school exams.

CSO: 3400/23



SOUTH AFRICA

EASTERN CAPE CONSUMER BOYCOTT TO BE EXTENDED THROUGH CHRISTMAS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 15 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Mono Badela: "For Whom The Xmas Bells Toll..."]

[Text]

THE Eastern Cape consumer boycott of white business is set to be extended through the Christmas shopping period, boycott leaders disclosed this week.

White businessmen in several Eastern Cape towns - especially Port Elizabeth, East London and Queenstown - are reeling under the two-month-old consumer boycott.

Boycott demands include the lifting of the state of emergency and release of all detainees.

In East London, 16 of the 18 shops in a North End street have closed, and businessmen in the area are to appeal to the Government for "drought aid".

Businessmen in other affected centres may join in making a similar appeal.

Queenstown businessmen are to petition the Government to take action to provide finance to alleviate the "appalling and inhumane" living conditions in the Mlungisi township.

PE Consumer Boycott Committee acting publicity secretary Stone Sizani said the PE boycott, which was originally set to last eight weeks, has been extended and may stretch until the Christmas period.

City Press visited Port Elizabeth this week and discovered several shops normally patronized by blacks in central PE and North End have closed.

Any hopes by business of the crisis ending in Uitenhage were dashed as National Party MP for Algoa James Kleinhans rejected talks.

But in Cradock, businessmen are making attempts to discuss the boycott with Illegihle residents.

Cradock Residents' Association president Gladwell Makaula has however ruled out talks with local businessmen until those detained under the state of emergency are set free.

SOUTH AFRICA

FRENCH STEP UP AID FOR BLACK STUDENTS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 15 Sep 85 p 12

[Text]

**DESPITE the recall of the French ambassador to South Africa and the French ban on new investments in this country, the French Embassy in Pretoria is continuing its aid and co-operation programs for black people.**

**France increased the 1985 aid program by R381 700 and the 1986 program has been increased to about R1-m.**

**The new program will double the amount for scholarships, increase aid to detainees' families by the creation of a special fund for human rights and finance the Khanya College project organised by Sached to improve black students' university studies and provide general support for their educational projects.**

CSO: 3400/24

SOUTH AFRICA

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS ON DETAINED CHILDREN STUDIED

Considered Revolt Vanguard

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 20-26 Sep 85 p 9

[Article by Sefako Nyaka: "The Day the 'Zola Budds' Came to School"]

[Text] A hallmark of the unrest in South Africa's townships has been the role of schoolchildren. Police consider them to be in the vanguard of the revolt. Psychologists think the detention of children may only increase their hostility.

FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD Johanna Motaung — a pupil at the Hlengiwe Secondary School in White City, Soweto — still does not understand why she and 745 other pupils from her school had to spend a day and night last week locked up in Diepkloof Prison.

Last Thursday, members of the South African Defence Force rounded up Johanna and her fellow pupils and took them to the Moroka police station. They were later transferred to Diepkloof Prison under Emergency regulations.

They were released on Saturday after their parents guaranteed that the pupils would attend school.

In the past month, hundreds of pupils in Soweto have been held overnight in a police station or prison.

Parents have appealed to police and the SADF to keep out of schools in order to avoid unnecessary tension in the townships.

"I was in class when the soldiers suddenly came in, motioning us with their guns to get out and get onto the

Hippus and Zola Budds (armoured cars)," said Johanna.

Her Form 11 class is furthest from the gate and she — and some of her classmates — had not been aware of any commotion before the Security Forces moved in.

"There had been a boycott of classes at the school, but after the police had given the pupils three days to make up their minds about getting back to class, the entire student body heeded the ultimatum," a teacher at the school said.

A member of the six-woman delegation recently appointed to look after the interests of detained schoolchildren, Mrs Bernadette Mosala, said the pupils were arrested on the school premises or in class.

"When I led a delegation on August 23 to negotiate the release of about 300 pupils arrested in Diepkloof, we were made to understand that only pupils who were outside the school premises at a given time would be liable for arrest," she said.

Mrs Mosala said on Thursday when they again met with the Soweto Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Johan Coetzee, she was informed that pupils must be in class, not only on the school campus, to avoid breaking the law.

She says the General told her that the police are aware that 10-year-olds are in the vanguard of "unrest in the townships".

"I can't say all the children arrested on Thursday are angels, but a great number of them are innocent. So why lock them up?" she asked.

"I wonder what attitude they are going to develop towards the law, not to mention the psychological scars they are likely to suffer as a result of their detention."

Social workers from the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society are interviewing the pupils and their families to assess what effects detention has had on the children.

The pupils at Hlengiwe were released only hours before a teacher at the school, Lunga Mbobo, Henrietta Sithebe (mother of two of the detained children) and Howard Ferreira, director of Johannesburg Child Welfare, brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court for the release of the schoolchildren.

The principal, J D Mataboge, said he wished the matter would pass "and pass forever."

"It is a mishap and every time it is brought up, it really hurts the children and the parents, resulting in a great deal of animosity."

A parents' meeting will be held at the school tomorrow to discuss the issue, Mataboge said.

#### May Make Children More Aggressive

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 20-26 Sep 85, p 9

[Article by Barbara Ludman]

[Text] DETENTION could turn ordinary children into anti-social, aggressive youths, a founder of the Detainees' Counselling Service (DCS) said at the weekend.

"When we think about the long-term effects on adolescents who are being incarcerated and brutalised, we can anticipate not just free-range aggression and anti-social feelings but a response that will be channelled in a far more direct manner."

The DCS founder, a psychologist who cannot be identified for professional reasons, was speaking in Johannesburg at a meeting of professional groups involved with children — social workers, child welfare workers, paediatricians, educationists, lawyers, rape victim counsellors, psychologists and psychiatrists — called to discuss the "alarming situation" concerning children in detention.

The DCS offers psychological help to released detainees. When the psychiatrists and psychologists who staff the service realised they would

be asked to treat children as well as adults, he said, they searched medical literature for information on what detained children had suffered in other countries.

There was no information — presumably because children elsewhere are not detained.

"All the literature of the last 20 years pertains to adults," said the psychologist.

"There was a fair amount of information dealing with children who had lived through war or survived concentration camps. And there was information on children in Chile and Argentina, but none of them had been detained, imprisoned or tortured. Their parents had been taken away."

There is plenty of information on the post-traumatic stress disorder which, he said, affects a vast number of released detainees everywhere — and has been made a compensatable illness in American veterans of the Viet Nam war.

On release, a victim might start re-experiencing his trauma, in the form of nightmares or as conscious, waking memories set off by unrelated events — the sound of a hooter, the slamming of a door.

"This leads to a number of important consequences," said the psychologist. "The victim may become withdrawn and asocial, unable to function in relationships with other people" — breaking down suddenly, shaking and shivering, crying for no apparent reason. One's concentration is disturbed and a lack of sleep makes the victim irritable.

"Most of the literature on acute and traumatic stress in children deals with children caught up in disasters — landslides or floods — or subjected to various forms of hardship," he said.

Extrapolating from one form of hardship to another, and from adult to adolescent responses, "we can speculate," he said, "on the psychological effects on children of detention."

One could expect a falloff in school studies, he said, general fearfulness, sleep disturbances and anxiety.

Children under seven subjected to stress would become more dependent, even clinging, and could suffer medical problems.

Older children subjected to stress "have been found to become aggressive and anti-social."

A resolution passed by the 50 professionals at the weekend meeting noted the danger that children "are particularly susceptible to the development of the long-term adverse effects of these brutalising experiences such as anxiety disorders, particularly the post-traumatic stress disorder, depressive disorders, adjustment and behaviour disorders and even psychotic episodes".

The resolution, which will be carried back to professional bodies for discussion, expresses "deeply-felt horror and revulsion at the State's assault on children" and calls on the government "to release all detained children immediately into the custody of their parents or guardians" and to "put an immediate end to the Security Forces' harassment and detention of children".

[Boxed item, pg 9]

## Setting a code for incarceration

DR Robin Dyer from Natal University's Medical School has slammed the South African Paediatric Association for contemplating a code for handling children in detention because, he said, drafting such a code condones the practice.

"I find it horrific that the Paediatric Association can even suggest a code of practice for the treatment of children who are detained," he said.

"To even accept that children are being detained is abominable. By drawing up a code they are condoning this practice of the Security Police."

Dyer told a medical conference in Durban this week that the Association is in the

CSO: 3400/56

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE STUDENTS JOIN CAPE TOWN BOYCOTTS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS 15 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

About 20 pupils from four Cape Town high schools refused to attend classes, and held an alternative program at the University of Cape Town.

Later that day, more than 100 pupils from a number of white schools attended a mass meeting to protest against the closure of 448 black schools in the Cape Peninsula.

The pupils also registered their "protest against the tight Government control over the 'white' educational system".

A meeting called last week for white pupils was banned at the last minute, and cops and troops turned away pupils at the door.

The pupils' stand has been welcomed by Azaso: "Azaso salutes the white schools for the progressive stand they have taken.

"We know you have experienced the Government's wrath."

Individual pupils resolved to continue their boycott until the end of this week.

CSO: 3400/23

SOUTH AFRICA

# GOVERNMENT HANDS OVER 20 TONS OF FOOD TO SOWETO

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

THE Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, yesterday handed over 20 tons of potatoes and dried milk at the Baragwanath Hospital on behalf of the government for distribution to people in need of food in Soweto.

He said the Government was concerned about the state of the people in the townships who were starving because of job redundancies and because many were forced by radicals not to buy food in the areas.

"The government has spent about R250 000 on food supplies and if we don't have enough money for it, we will just have to start cutting a few corners here and there to get it," Dr Van Niekerk said.

The operation is being carried out with the assistance of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force who are providing the manpower and the

equipment (lorries etc) to fetch and deliver the food.

The food is bought from agricultural boards and Dr Van Niekerk said that they hoped to be able to supply maize meal in the near future.

The Mayor of Soweto, Mr Edward Kunene, the Mayor of Dobsonville, Mr Steve Nkatlo and Councillor M J Mathala who represented the Mayor of Diepmeadow, were at the ceremony and accepted the food on behalf of their communities.

Dr Van Niekerk told sick children from the hospital who sang to thank him for the food: "I would like you to remember this day as the day the potatoes came."

Mr Kunene told Dr Van Niekerk: "This is a step forward in bringing our people together and showing our people that we councillors, who have been elected democratically, are really in power."

CSO: 3400/47

SOUTH AFRICA

THUGS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF UNREST TO MAKE PROFITS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Sep 85 pp 8-9

[Text]

The word "comrade" was once used in the townships to refer to political activists; but now it is used by other elements taking advantage of the unrest.

Today's indiscriminate use of the word "comrade" is a camouflage for thugs whose motives are not political but rather aim to harass people and make a "quick buck".

It's now common in the townships to see a group of youths singing "revolutionary songs" and calling one another "comrade". Many are in fact masquerading as activists.

Atrocities committed in the townships under the guise of the "struggle" are on the increase.

The "struggle" has now slipped out of the hands of the committed activists who started the unrest and has been hi-jacked by these elements who use it to feather their own nests.

This sentiment has been expressed by many people who have, in one way or the other, fallen victim to people masquerading as activists.

But residents are careful not to express their displeasure publicly for fear of being called revisionists or, at worst, "sellouts".

The "struggle" has entered most homes in the black townships and residents have been affected in one way or another by it.

Suffering has followed in its wake, and even those who used to say "there is no struggle without casualties" are now concerned at the direction it is taking.

This is how residents have been affected:

- People have had to walk home from the outskirts of townships as Putco pulls its buses out at the slightest hint of trouble.
- Vehicles are stoned indiscriminately.
- Cars are hi-jacked.
- Parcels are searched and goods either confiscated or strewn on the ground.
- Pupils have been in and out of school and police stations.
- Just about everyone has been choked by tears smoke fumes.



● Petrol stations have been plundered and hi-jacked vehicles filled without paying.

● Houses have been burnt by pupils on revenge missions.

● Newspaper vendors are assaulted and robbed.

Pupils are roaming the streets not going to school and not knowing who the leaders are, what they are demanding and to whom are they making the demands.

Many people have told of their experiences when conformity was being enforced.

They are bitter that there is no longer any visible leadership and thugs have taken over.

Many residents want the organisers or those who launched the consumer boycott to stop it so as to frustrate the thugs. But the organisers are either said to be in detention or in hiding. So the residents are saddled with a consumer boycott whose gains are unknown and whose enforcement methods are sporadic and at the whim of a bunch of unknown hooligans.

Areas in deep Soweto are not affected by the consumer boycott. It seems to be monitored only in Diepkloof and Meadowlands.

The worst hit are housewives who have had their parcels grabbed from them and strewn all over the road.

There are reports, though often untrue, of people being made to eat raw meat and to drink cooking oil.

Soweto has always had a problem with unemployed thugs who have now fully taken advantage of the situation.

Residents have reported seeing thugs fleeing with plastic bags from supermarkets.

The cooking oil story has been doing the rounds since 1976. It is said housewives have been forced to drink cooking oil because they have not observed the boycott.

It is no longer something to moan about when one is forced to walk home after a hard day at work when Putco buses are stoned and pull out of the townships. It has become normal.

But many people suffer as a result of this. The disabled, the aged and women walk long distances to reach their homes.

### FUNERALS

It is no longer safe for motorists to set out over weekends before checking if there will be a funeral taking place.

Motorists have had their cars hijacked by "mourners". Taxi drivers also have the same problem. There are, however, allegations that taxi drivers are either in collusion with the thugs or deliberately set themselves up to be hijacked so as to have their cars filled up.

After the funerals convoys of hijacked vehicles are driven to a filling station where they are filled up without paying.

A garage owner who saw his profits going into numerous cars and taxis said he was convinced that thugs were responsible. He said the pupils were disgusted at this action of the thugs.

A bottle store which is not owned by the council but belongs to a group of black businessmen was rammed by a bus and looted. One of the directors said he was certain it was the work of thugs and not pupils.

Newspapers are no longer sold at street corners because the women vendors are assaulted and robbed.

It is all very confusing.

CSO: 3400/49

SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTER GIVES HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION PLAN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

THE Government announced yesterday its plans for the consolidation of three homelands in the Transvaal, and said 125 000 people would no longer be resettled while an effective 255 000 hectares of land would be added to the existing territories.

Announcing the plans in Pretoria, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the consolidation plans for Lebowa, Gazankulu and Kwandebele would be put before Parliament for approval next year.

"The procedures will now be set in motion to transfer the land to the states," Mr Heunis said.

Kangwane, the fourth non-independent homeland in the Transvaal, was not included in the consolidation announcement.

Mr Heunis said that according to the new plans, the people who would no longer have to be resettled totalled 110 000 in Lebowa, 5 000 in Gazankulu and 3 811 families in Kwandebele. A spokesman for the department said the combined figure was more than 125 000.

While the plans earmarked certain areas for resettled communities, the Deputy Minister of Development and of Land Affairs, Mr Ben Wilkens, said he could not give an exact figure of how many people would be relocated.

"We have no figure at the moment," he said, "but it will not be great."

The people who would have to be resettled were at present living on three farms which would have formed part of Kwandebele, he said. No people from Lebowa or Gazankulu would be resettled, he added.

Mr Wilkens said he could not estimate how much it would cost the Government to buy the additional land.

Asked about the Government's policy on the homelands, Mr Heunis said the Government and the homeland authorities had agreed that the states should make up part of the political framework of South Africa.

"Whatever the constitutional future of South Africa," he added, "the existence of these states must be part of the answer."

According to the final plans, more than 110 000 ha to have been depro-

claimed or excised from the homelands would now remain within the territories, while 112 219 ha would be excised.

A total of 105 000 ha have been added to Kwandebele, almost doubling the size of the homeland, which lies about 100 km northeast of Pretoria. A large portion of the rich farming land of Rust de Winter, excluding the dam make up part of the area to be added.

The plans transfer to Lebowa a total of 134 308 ha, including the famous Zebediela Estates.

The Government stipulated, however, that the transfer of the citrus lands would be subject to an "acceptable agreement" between the homeland and South Africa on the maintenance of assets and management of Zebediela.

Gazankulu, whose two main sections lie along the Kruger National Park, acquired an extra 16 720 ha, according to the statement.

According to the announcement, Lebowa is to consist of two large sections, forming a corridor around Pietersburg and Potgietersrus, and some nine smaller pieces, including Sekgopas township and Silwanes town-

ship, which adjoins part of Gazankulu.

The towns of Sybrandskraal and Verena are to be included in Kwandebele, the announcement noted, while it had been decided not to add to the homeland the Nebo farms, east of Groblersdal. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/47

SOUTH AFRICA

CATHOLIC PAPER EDITORIAL URGES BOTHA TO ACTION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, could still go down in history as South Africa's political saviour and liberator if he uses all his power now to do what justice reasonable people demand, according to the latest edition of the Southern Cross.

An editorial in the national Roman Catholic weekly newspaper said the outrage and fears of a few would be overwhelmed by the joy and goodwill such boldness would release.

"We applaud the present Government's apparent willingness at last to recognise all South Africans as citizens, free to live and work where they choose; though we wait to see how — and even whether — the present Parliament and civil service will translate that willingness into reality.

"As for fear of a Marxist takeover, we do not believe that any Marxist is rubbing his hands over the Government's belated intentions of reform. If anything will avert the threat of a socialist revol-

ution, it is a reformist revolution.

"White South Africans are still discussing elaborate constitutional schemes to prevent 'domination' of one group by another: that is, to spare them from being ruled by Blacks."

The editorial regretted that many Whites were still not ready to regard their neighbours simply as South Africans (or themselves as Azanians), or to believe that a genuinely South African government could be a good one.

"The obvious flaw in any scheme of joint control of common affairs combined with group control of particular concern is simply that most South Africans don't want it.

"Most South Africans want a common citizenship and common official language — English, which doesn't mean that dozens of other languages won't continue to be spoken and written.

"The sooner all Whites accept and want it too, the sooner our present agony will be over," the editorial said. — Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT SAYS AIM IS TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

IN the year ahead the Department of Foreign Affairs will strive for better relations with South Africa's neighbouring states, says Mr Ron Miller, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Miller said that as Deputy-Minister his field would be Southern African affairs, with particular emphasis on the TBVC states and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

"Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, is one of our top priorities this year.

"We are working diligently at improving our strategies in this area, to be more effective and to achieve greater penetration."

Asked how relations could be bettered in the absence of formal diplomatic links, Mr Miller said that "informal structures" could not only be highly successful but enabled contact to be made "without flak from the OAU and UN".

African states found it difficult to have formal links with South Africa because of the attitude of the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations Organisation. However, South Africa was eager to compensate for this through informal channels of discussion.

"It would be nice to have diplomatic relations but this is not a total impediment to our relationships with our neighbours."

Mr. Miller said there was a greater deal of inter-dependence in Southern Africa and what was good for her neighbours was good for South Africa.

Peace, stability and prosperity would benefit the whole region and all its inhabitants.

Questioned about his new post as deputy to Mr Pik Botha, Mr Miller said it was "fascinating". He had found the Department of Foreign Affairs established on very sound

foundations and he was impressed with the quality of its people.

Born at Smithfield in the Free State, Mr Miller spent his early years in South West Africa, where his father was a school teacher.

He was educated at Kingswood College in Grahamstown and Natal University, where he obtained a Bachelor of Social Science Degree with industrial psychology as his special field.

His interest in politics was an "accident" of being invited by the United Party's Durban region to give talks on Black aspirations.

On September 29, 1984, he quit the NRP and on October 2 was admitted as a member of the National Party. To his great surprise, Mr P W Botha asked him on October 27, to accept the post of Deputy-Minister of Home Affairs.

CSO: 3400/47

SOUTH AFRICA

CONFERENCE SEEKS NATIONAL STRATEGY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business Supplement) in English 15 Sep 85 p 5

[Text]

The first international conference to formulate a national security strategy will be held in SA in November.

The conference has become necessary to meet the challenges of an increasingly volatile political and social climate.

Leading figures, including the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, will address the conference, which is being organised by the Sandock-Austral Security Academy.

Richard Kobetz, assistant director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in charge of among other disciplines, hostage rescue, will also be present.

Roy Jackson, Sandock-Austral's general manager, says: "The aim of the conference is to serve as a catalyst towards formulating a

national security strategy."

It will bring together senior management staff mainly from the private sector. A diploma course in security administration will be launched to help the private sector cope with demands for effective security management.

The course will be run along the lines of management programmes being undertaken by the Damelin Management School.

Sandock-Austral will also launch a course in physiognomy, which will be conducted on an in-house basis.

Colonel Jackson says: "We hope to train personnel in the identification of criminals. The course lasts only half a working day. It is not designed to compete with the SA Police's Identikit programme but to complement it."

CSO: 3400/16

SOUTH AFRICA

GENERAL DEFENDS PRESENCE OF SADF IN TOWNSHIPS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

A SENIOR SA Defence Force officer yesterday attacked and dismissed increasing demands that the SADF be withdrawn from the riot-torn Black townships.

Major-General J P B van Loggerenberg, chief director operations, deplored the demands and said that the only reason for the Defence Force's presence was to protect law abiding people's lives and their properties.

Addressing a passing out parade, which included 130 immigrants, at Pretoria's Air Force Gymnasium, General Van Loggerenberg said those people making the demands should reconsider their position.

He said that some of the calls were coming from people who did not want to see negotiations about the country's future taking place in an atmosphere of calm and stability.

"Perhaps these people have considered the consequences of a withdrawal . . . they want violence on a bigger scale and one can therefore understand why they call on the Government to withdraw the Defence Force.

**Interests**

It would surely not be in South Africa's interests to allow the spiral of violence between rivaling groups to continue, he said.

While one group of people demanding the withdrawal of the Defence Force knew why it was doing so — to further subversion — the other might be well meaning.

"But these people do not understand fully what we want to achieve in these townships."

"Surely they must realise that there is also another side to the coin.

"If one is prepared to look objectively at the situation in these areas one must see many, many people who simply ask for protection of their lives and their property.

"Must we turn a deaf ear to these people?" he asked.

**Harmed**

They had not harmed anybody, he said. All they were asking was for the right to work and to provide their dependants with the basic necessities of life — food, shelter and clothing.

If they ignored the "mindless petty dictators" a newly bought suit was ripped to pieces and a basketful of groceries was destroyed.

Some people returned from work to find their homes burnt down.

"No government worth its salt can allow such blatant intimidation to establish itself and to destroy, eventually, the fabric of civilised society," he said.

Sapa-reports: The only aim of the anti-conscription movement, the End Conscription Campaign, was to break the morale in the SA Defence Force and to leave South Africa defenceless, said General Van Loggerenberg.

He said that there was a difference between the ECC's campaign and the Progressive Federal Party's policy of seeing conscription eventually phased out.

"They (the ECC) have only one aim in mind and that is to break our morale and to eventually leave South Africa defenceless."

He said a recent statement by the ECC was incorrect where it said that the number of civilians who turned up for national service this year had decreased. The difference caused by the "student factor" had not been taken into account, he added.



SOUTH AFRICA

## UNEMPLOYED WHITES INCREASINGLY TAKING UNSKILLED BLACK JOBS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Sep 85 p 15

[Article by Allan Soule]

[Text]

**IN a bid to beat the unemployment blues, white workers are taking jobs usually reserved for blacks.**

During the last few months an increasing number of desperate whites have swallowed their pride, rolled up their sleeves and plunged themselves into the unskilled labour market.

In major centres hard-hit by recession, small bands of whites swap five hours of back-breaking toil for as little as R4 a day in Government-

sponsored unemployment relief projects.

Said one white R4-a-day worker: "I can't find a job and I need the money to support myself and my widowed mother. I'm doing an honest job and I see nothing wrong with working alongside blacks."

In economically depressed Port Elizabeth, where unemployment has reached epidemic proportions, two white workers recently highlighted the crisis when they were employed as petrol attendants.

The managing director of the city's largest transport company, City Tramways, reported a significant increase in whites applying for jobs as bus drivers.

### Queues

In the same city, highly qualified whites queue outside factory gates for jobs which often require a minimum of skills. But their brave attempts at securing blue collar employment have diminished significantly as retrenchments at local labour-intensive industries increase almost daily.

Social workers in the city's poorer white and coloured suburbs report an alarming rise in the poverty level.

While unemployment and

### QUOTE

"I can't find a job and I need the money to support myself and my widowed mother. I'm doing an honest job and I see nothing wrong with working alongside blacks."

its crippling social consequences gather momentum among whites and coloureds, the situation in black townships has already surpassed danger levels.

A recent survey by Vista University students shows that more than half the employable black men and women in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage are jobless.

Coupled to the unemployment problem is growing poverty and disillusionment within all racial sectors.

Official unemployment figures released by the local

Department of Manpower revealed a 100 percent increase in the number of white men under the age of 21 registering as jobless last month.

Other indicators have also underlined the enormity of the problem.

The Port Elizabeth City Council's director of housing, Mr Eddie Samuels, this week disclosed that more than 1 500 people in the city had applied to the municipality for relief on their rents or instalments.

Many of the applicants, he said, were either jobless or

on short time.

Social workers interviewed this week said unemployment had triggered a host of related social problems.

Mrs Annemarie Naude, Christellike Maatskaplike Raad social worker, said: "There has been a sharp increase in the demand for emergency financial assistance, particularly among the unemployed in Port Elizabeth's northern and less affluent suburbs."

### Aid

She said her organisation had been forced to increase its financial aid programme by a whopping 500 percent during the past five months.

"Without financial assistance, some white families would undoubtedly go hungry," she said.

SOUTH AFRICA

STUDENT POLICE SPY NETWORK REVEALED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 15 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by: Rebecca Williams and Caroline Hurry]

[Text. A SECURITY Police spy network was unravelled this week when Rhodes University students revealed details of their clandestine campus activities.

The chain of startling allegations included:

- Offers of exemption from Defence Force national service for students prepared to work for the Security Police.
- Generous compensation in return for information.
- Dagga smoking among police and students involved in campus espionage.
- The use of secret code names for the students and the Security Police involved.

**Espionage training**

- Offers of espionage training at Pretoria.
- Threats to students and their families by recruiting officers.
- Orders from the Security Police to one white student to get a black girlfriend.
- Promises by Security Police that one student would receive a car for his services.
- Bugging and telephone-tapping at Student Representative Council offices.

Top-level police spokesmen admitted Security Police involvement on campus but stressed that police "had a responsibility to maintain the internal security of South Africa".

"Their job is to gather information from many sources on any situation which could have an effect on State security," said a spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria.

Students Gustaf Roller and Daryl McLean confessed to their spying activities before 700 students attending a meeting called by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

Roller, an 18-year-old first-year journalism student, said he had curtailed all espionage activity after witnessing a recent display of police brutality at a peaceful student demonstration.

He said he had been approached by Lieutenant Lloyd Edwards, a Grahamstown security policeman, in January this year and asked to work for the SP while studying at Rhodes.

When he agreed to work for the organisation, Lieutenant Edwards, codenamed "Simon", gave him his home and work telephone numbers.

Roller was also given a third number and told to speak to a man codenamed "Mike", an alias for a Captain Neveling of the Security Police.

"I was told how to best infiltrate Rodeo, (the students' newspaper), and Nusas," Roller said. "I was instructed to attend the Rodeo workshop during the first weekend of term and to join Nusas."

Roller was given the codename "George" and told he would be "compensated" for his services.

"At the end of March I received R50, the following month R100, the month after R150, and from then on R200 a month." He was also told he would be exempt from national service.

As a member of Nusas and on the staff of Rodeo, Roller was told to "get a black girlfriend" to improve his image and credibility among the more radical circles.

**SRC telephone bugged**

Roller was told to try to expose any National Intelligence Service spies on campus because they and the Security Police were "rivals in many respects".

On such occasions, Lieutenant Edwards told him that the SRC offices were bugged and the telephones tapped.

Lieutenant Edwards also discussed torture methods used by the Security Police to extract information from Committee of South African Students (Cosas) members and how the Security Police recruited Cosas informers by threatening them and their families.

"During our discussions it was suggested that I receive espionage training in Pretoria at the end of 1985. I was also promised a car.

"My last contact with the Security Police was on Tuesday September 3, when I phoned Captain Neveling.

### **Conscience-stricken**

"Eventually, my conscience worried me so much that I terminated my contract," said Roller.

Third-year student Daryl McLean, who was recently elected deputy chairman of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) at Rhodes, said he worked for the Security Police in 1983.

He was approached by Lieutenant Neveling who said he was aware that Daryl intended studying politics and journalism at Rhodes.

McLean was last contacted during the 1983 July holidays when Lieutenant Neveling tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to continue assisting them.

The police spokesman in Pretoria said he wished to state that certain members of the student body at Rhodes University had offered their services for payment and that they were in a process of assessment as information sources.

"There exists a long history of misuse by banned organisations of campuses in South Africa to recruit people and carry on illegal activities.

"Numerous examples exist and are a matter of public record," he said.

SOUTH AFRICA

VERY FEW VISIT ARMY'S COMPLAINT CENTERS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Sep 85 p 15.

[Article by Cas St Leger]

[Text]

THE SADF's offer to hear evidence about alleged military atrocities in the handling of township unrest has been cold-shouldered — only a grey cat visiting one of the offices.

Concerned about rumours of excesses, the South African Defence Force this week set up a series of offices to hear complaints from the public.

But nobody came forward. "We are prepared to stand and be accused of anything, provided a charge is laid and it goes through the normal processes of law.

"The Chief of the Defence Force has set up this organisation to allow people to bring evidence to substantiate these rumours, in which case action will be taken," said Colonel Basil Ginsberg, senior Citizen Force liaison officer for Witwatersrand Command.

"Certainly, we don't feel we are above the law because we are armed and in an emergency situation. We must answer the same as anyone else within the bounds of our delegated authority.

"We are determined to clear our good name but we are not above criticism."

Six-man teams, headed by Col Ginsberg and including attorneys, visited Katlehong on Wednesday, Daveyton on

Thursday, KwaThema on Friday and Tembisa on Saturday.

The men wore civvies to set prospective complainants at ease; unmarked vehicles were used to transport teams and Press to the respective town council offices and — though the Buffels, uniforms and weapons were there for protection, they were asked to keep a low profile so that nervous members of public would not be frightened off.

But nobody came.

Col Ginsberg predicted that Wednesday evening's complaints office in a burnt-out community hall in Katlehong might be a wash-out as the publicity campaign had not yet gained momentum.

He was right. There was not a single complainant.

But by Thursday, radio spots and Press reports should have alerted anyone with a grievance against the military that an office in Daveyton would be open. An hour after setting up shop,

there were still no customers.

Col Ginsberg took the military guard off the gate of the town council offices. He made sure the soldiers, shivering in an icy, 15-degree blast, were tucked away out of sight.

Half an hour later he walked to the gate and was approached by a sole black man who asked not to be named — and gave the Colonel his heartfelt appreciation for the presence of the SADF in his town.

"Now I can walk around without being mugged," the man told the Colonel.

On Friday the team waited for two hours at the KwaThema, Springs, town council offices. Only a grey cat strolled in.

It was the same story yesterday at Tembisa, Kempton

Park. Nobody came to complain.

Col Ginsberg said any complaints were welcomed, and his teams were prepared to act as a "post office" in assisting parents to trace missing children.

The offices would also be open for evidence today from 2pm to 5pm in Orlando East community hall, Soweto ... in Sebokeng Area 14 community hall from 5pm to 7pm tomorrow ... and in Motlakeng, Randfontein, in the Rammapusa Hall from 5pm to 7pm on Tuesday.

Similar facilities would be available in other provinces and a permanent complaints office was open in Johannesburg. If the confidence of the people were won, another 14 six-man teams are standing by.

SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY MEN MEET OVER UNREST, CRIME

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 5 Sep 85 p 8

[Text] JOHANNESBURG. — South Africans are "closing their eyes" to major security threats posed by civil unrest and the continuing recession, according to new Security Association of South Africa president Mr Dirk Ackerman.

While mob violence and an increasing crime rate had thrown industrial and commercial security into the limelight, the South African public still lacked an awareness of the need for security, he said.

RELEVANT

Mr Ackerman said that never before had there been a time when security in business — and among the public in general — had been more relevant.

"It is of the utmost importance that the public of South Africa should develop an attitude of mind that recognises security as being a part of their way of life."

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Security experts are meeting in Johannesburg today to discuss security threats caused by civil unrest and an increasing crime rate in South Africa over the past year.

The discussions will take place at the 1985 national conference of the Security Association of South Africa (Sasa), which will coincide with South Africa's first Security Awareness Week.

The president of Sasa, Mr Dirk Ackerman, said the Security Awareness week was staged to make the public aware of the need for effective security measures.

"THINK SECURITY"

"We believe that, by promoting a concept of 'Think Security', many of the detrimental effects of the current national situation could at least be inhibited with a consequent saving of life and property."

Sasa, a non-profit organisation, will be asking its 1 100 members to promote security awareness throughout the country both in industrial complexes and office buildings.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, will open the conference at a hotel in Berea.

The first day's discussions will be devoted to external threats to businesses, and the second day will focus on internal business problems.

A security exhibition will be held to coincide with the conference. Among the items on display will be a walk-through explosives detector, which is claimed to be the world's most efficient unit of its kind. It can detect even the latest Russian and water-based explosives by measuring the molecular structure of everything passing through the scanner.

South Africa's first car-bomb booklet will also be released tomorrow to mark the first publication in a new series of security booklets which are being produced by Sasa.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW REPUBLIC PARTY LEADER GIVES VIEWS ON NATIONAL CONVENTION

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 3 Sep 85 p 14

[Article by: Bill Sutton]

[Text] CONSTITUTIONAL reform begins when Nationalists either force their Government to reform or vote it out of office. This is the mainstream of white politics and the issue of reform will be decided here or else by violence.

The New Republic Party will support any initiative to put together a package to present to Nationalist voters as an alternative to Government indecision and lack of imagination.

The UDF recently stated the conditions for a national convention very clearly.

For credibility inside or outside South Africa, Mandela must be released unconditionally, the ANC must be allowed free play, the exiles and freedom fighters must be allowed to return, political prisoners as designated by the ANC must be amnestied and money must be allowed to flow freely into the country to fund the ANC campaign to elect delegates to the convention.

For ANC read UDF. Surely this cannot be what Dr Slabbert has in mind? The immense potential of Chief Buthelezi for leadership would be swept away by the Red tide.

We need Chief Buthelezi in government now. The Government needs Chief Buthelezi in government now.

My Party sees a convention alliance as a Brussels-type convention between South Africa and the homeland governments, with the immediate inclusion of Chief Buthelezi and

another homeland leader in the Cabinet.

This would open up direct black participation in the crucial areas of the budget and constitutional reform.

I believe the Government would give earnest consideration to such an inter-government relationship.

A House of Deputies of 60 members would give urban blacks participation on all standing committees of Parliament, especially those of the budget and of constitutional affairs, and also a seat in the Cabinet.

The voice of blacks in Parliament would boom through the corridors of power like the Mouille Point fog-horn.

Parliament with its procedures and its precedents is the guarantee of the rights of all South Africans.

The old Republic with the its Westminster Parliament and its confrontational style has gone.

The new Republic with its new Parliament and the style of consensus has come and awaits only black participation. Negotiation in Parliament, eyeball to eyeball, in the standing committees is the way to achieve real reform.

I appeal to Dr Slabbert and mainline Progressives to return to the mainstream of white politics.

Flirting along the edges of democracy with the UDF will not change Nationalist minds. A convention alliance as outlined above has a real chance of doing so.

What we need is a convention alliance that even Nationalists cannot refuse.

CSO: 3400/17



SOUTH AFRICA

SADF OPENS COMPLAINT CENTERS

Cape Town CAPE TIMES In English 11 Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

THE SADF has set up a chain of unrest "complaint centres" to probe any allegations of misconduct by soldiers — even though so far there have been only two complaints locally, neither of any significance.

From this week part-time complaint centres will be open three days a week in Nyanga, Mitchells Plain and Manenberg, and employers will also be able to channel any of their workers' complaints directly to a senior SADF officer for immediate investigation and action.

The complaint centres are specifically for allegations against military and not police personnel.

The SADF move comes soon after a military spokesman told the Cape Times that troops in townships would be "mercilessly" prosecuted for misconduct.

**'On various fronts'**

Brigadier Tony Chemaly, Director Manpower Liaison at Western Province Command, noted at a press conference yesterday that "on various fronts" there had been accusations of SADF "atrocities".

As a result "the Chief of the SADF has ordered the Chief of the Army to listen to all complaints in an organized and orderly manner and, where necessary, to act accordingly".

The complaint centres will be co-ordinated and directed by a special committee, headed by Brigadier Ben de Wet Roos, a widely respected retired Permanent Force officer.

Each centre will be staffed by Citizen Force or Commando Force personnel, comprising a senior officer of major's or commandant's rank, a legal officer and two clerks. A naval officer who reads and writes both Zulu and Xhosa has volunteered his services for the Nyanga office.

He added: "We also want to invite employers to encourage their employees to submit any complaints to them if they are worried about visiting a complaint centre."

**Plain brown uniforms**

"Employers can contact the Manpower Liaison Office at Western Province Command during working hours, and a legal officer will be sent to investigate immediately." Any other member of the public in the unrest areas can also telephone Brigadier Chemaly at (021) 21-7297 if he or she has a complaint.

He stressed, however, that the service was only for complaints against members of the military, who could be identified by their plain brown uniforms.

The complaint centres will be located in the Nyanga Labour Bureau building, the Markhams building in Mitchell's Plain and at Manenberg, where premises are still being finalized.

They will be open between 5pm and 7pm on Thursdays, 10am to 12 noon on Saturdays and 3pm to 5pm on Sundays.

**Police stations always available**

● There was "no necessity" for police to set up local community offices to deal with allegations of police brutality in unrest areas, a spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said yesterday.

Reacting to yesterday's announcement by the SADF, the spokesman said: "Each and every police station has always been available to the general public for the laying of complaints and has qualified staff to deal with them."

"If we did something like this, can you imagine the drain on manpower? Anyway there is no necessity for it," he added.

The spokesman said that if the public could not get satisfaction at a charge office the station commander's door was "always open".

"If they still get no joy they can approach the district commandant or even the divisional commissioner," he said.

CSO: 3400/17

SOUTH AFRICA

## SCRAPPING OF PASS LAW WILL ELIMINATE RACKETS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Sep 85 p 6

[Text]

THE scrapping of passbooks is not only going to create vast vacancies in the country's prisons. It's going to mean headaches for the many blacks who have resorted to all manner of subterfuge to beat the system.

Like the myriads of fellows who assumed fancy English-type names to pose as coloureds.

They would do anything to avoid the degradation of the pass laws. And it's been so long that one wonders how many can even remember their given names.

I thought wryly of this when I read of the Government's intention to scrap pass laws and the introduction of uniform citizenship for all.

It must not be forgotten that more than 300 000 blacks a year had to be "free guests of the State President" for offences under the pass laws and its side-effects.

In trains, buses, homes, shebeens, everywhere, people are talking in incredulous tones about the abolition of the reference book. Many are still "doubting Thomases" and won't believe it until they see the dreaded "brown" or "green" books gone for ever.

In township patois "passes", "reference books" or "books of life", have quaint names. In fact, a little treatise could be written about their comic titles. We refer to reference books as "stink-ers", "nzangan", "nzenga", "dompas" or "lankof".

Different regions have their own original names, but a "stinker" remains one from Guguletu township in Cape Town to Dube township in Soweto. It stinks to high heaven with its ill-effects on the masses of blacks who have to carry them.

As we have learnt to swallow the bitter with the sweet, many a tale will be passed on about the passbook.

No amount of flippancy will wipe out the suffering and misery it has caused over the years. But, being what we are, the laughter, derision

and defiance that has been our comfort through all these harsh laws must be told.

Let's take a ride in a time capsule back into the early '50s during the height of pass raids. First thing you did in the morning before pulling on your pants was to check if

your "pass" was safe and sound under the pillow.

As you bolted out of your home for the bus, taxi or railway station, your mother or wife would shriek or holler: "You mustn't forget your pass!"

She had the right to, be-

cause the minute you left your home your every movement was under the beady surveillance of the law.

That is why people developed that shifty and alert expression — on the lookout for the pass squad.

Those who went about with blinkers round their faces normally ended up in "kwelakwelas" or pick-up vans. It was a cat-and-mouse game. The law used all kinds of camouflage tactics to nab the unsuspecting.

At Park station, which is the universal name for Johannesburg station, it was the survival of the enterprising. As if by common instinct, all of us on arrival reached for our hip or back pockets to feel if that "damned" book was there.

If not, it was retreating back into the safety of the concourse until the pass blitz was over.

## Brunt

It meant lateness for work, expulsion in certain cases where the bosses could not understand the whole situation and absolute misery for those affected.

Honest workers normally took the brunt of the pass raids. They were like sheep going to the slaughter. They'd forgotten passes at home but were genuine workers.

The next stop for them was No 4 or Fordsburg Prison, where they'd be processed for "failing to produce" and other silly accusations for not carrying passes with them.

Crooks, conmen, men-about-town and loafers fared better. They were dressed immaculately, carried brief-

cases — "dignity bags" as we called them in those years — to escape arrest.

Cops somehow fell for the ruse. A well-clad man meant a worker, and anybody ordinarily or shabbily dressed was a work-seeker who had to have all his papers or "maphephas" (official documents) in order.

The honest workers were the sacrificial lambs. They got it where the chicken got it — "in the neck!"

A typical pass raid those days meant the entire barricading of a township or location. Police would be at all strategic entrances to the place. Those without valid documents devised all means of escape.

They hid in dustbins, cellings and rafters of homes, took to the sand dunes and adjoining hills or just vanished from the face of earth until the raid was over.

Like the resistance movements abroad, stricken peo-

ple coined phrases and codes to elude the police.

A three-pronged sharp whistle call meant the police were about. The cry "Ku Mbonvu" (it is red) meant on alarm whenever there was police presence in the area.

Even songs were composed about pass raids. There was a song in the early "Roaring Forties" which defied pass raids.

## Desist

Citizenship for all is taken by many as something that has naturally to follow. Many of us will then desist from re-jigging surnames like "Mtshkhulo" to "Grootboom", "Ndlovu" to "Oli-fant", "Mvundla" to "Hare" and many others.

Even P W Botha's normally sparkling eyes lost their lustre when he announced these changes on TV recently. It has come to pass.

## —One racket is doomed—

A LARGE number of racketeers, most of whom are in Johannesburg and Soweto, would suffer greatly when the new uniform pass system is introduced.

Some of these racketeers have been arrested, but in several cases they have been able to pay a fine and continue with their old business as before.

Many people, mostly from the rural areas, paid between R400 to R600 to get the correct stamp on their reference books — which then gave them a forged

right to work and live in Johannesburg.

The number of those who obtained forged documents doubled each time one of the homelands became independent, as many people in the urban areas automatically lost their rights to that homeland.

As one man said this week: "These racketeers who have been earning a livelihood selling urban rights to blacks will now have to and look for work for the first time for years."

SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID STILL EXISTS ABOARD TRAINS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by: Boeti Eshad and Peter Malherbe]

[Text]

APARTHEID is alive and well at the Johannesburg Station. New "Whites" signs have gone up in the main concourse, effectively keeping out members of other race groups.

And, despite the new "multiracial" status conferred on some coaches, very little has changed on the trains that glide out of the busiest station in the country.

At the main stations in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth, it's a different story... class segregation is the ruling there.

First and second-class passengers of all races are free to use all facilities at the main station — except for the toilets.

There are separate "whites only" and "mixed" toilet facilities.

Third-class commuters of all races use separate facilities.

But in Johannesburg new signs went up on August 31 ensuring that only whites still use the main concourse.

Mr Leon Els, public relations officer for the South African Transport Services, said the new signs were in line with the announcement of different facilities on stations.

He said because there were two concourses at Johannesburg Station, they had decided to keep the existing white concourse for the exclusive use of whites.



"However, whites are free to use the unmarked facilities in the old non-white concourse."

The new "mixed" travel arrangements, which came into operation on September 1, mean that white passengers now have the option of travelling in first, second and third-class mixed-race coaches — the old "non-white" coaches.

## Option

But whites also have the option of travelling in coaches reserved for "whites only". And that's exactly what most of them choose to do.

Nothing has changed for black commuters, except for the odd white face in the crowd.

At Johannesburg Station black passengers cannot use the "whites only" concourse, coffee bar, restaurant or toilets.

Even the ticket office on the main concourse now sports three prominent signs proclaiming "whites".

Members of other race groups have to use the smaller concourse reserved for them, which sports less lavish facilities.

Even the benches on the platform down below are segregated. There are the "whites only" benches and the "mixed" benches, which are the old "non-white"

benches with the lettering removed.

Aboard the train, a white ticket examiner serves the "whites only" coaches and a black examiner presides over the "mixed" coaches.

Doors connecting the two sections of the train are locked.

SOUTH AFRICA

CRITICAL LOOK AT AZAPO

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English No 102, Third Quarter 1985 pp 32-45

[Article by Toussaint]

[Text]

The "Azanian People's Organisation" — Azapo — is not much accustomed to wide attention from the world's press, radio and TV. Nor does it usually attract much attention from South Africa's internal media. But suddenly for a few days in February, it became the centre of an international wave of attention. The occasion was the highly publicised visit to South Africa of US senator Edward Kennedy — a putative 1988 Presidential candidate, engaged on a fact-finding inspection of apartheid and all its consequences.

It is difficult to avoid some feelings of cynicism about his public tour, conducted throughout in full blaze of media publicity; he was seen in all the right places — in Nobel prize-winner Tutu's bishopric and outside Nelson Mandela's Pollsmoor prison, at Winnie Mandela's place of banishment and in the streets of Soweto; he delivered himself of some newly-discovered criticisms of apartheid, and iterated a newly-discovered determination to see that the US changes from its present "constructive engagement" stance to a consistent anti-apartheid one.

Opposition to apartheid has become the USA's fastest rolling bandwagon. Everyone who would be anyone in American politics — except of course dyed-in-the-wool Republican Party office-holders — is lining up to join the demonstrations outside South Africa's US embassies, to be ritually arrested in a campaign initiated by Reverend Jesse Jackson's 'rainbow coalition' supporters. The campaign for US disinvestment from the apartheid state is becoming a central issue of foreign policy, suitably challenging of Reaganism and yet comfortably removed from the really stinking cesspools of US policy on America's own doorstep in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Chile — which still have bipartisan support of Democrats and Republicans alike.

Whatever the mix of genuine conviction, political opportunism, and personal image-building which underlay the Kennedy visit, it was not without significance for the future of South Africa. His public condemnations of the apartheid regime were the most public by a senior Western statesman since Macmillan's 'winds of change' speech in 1960; they must have carried some weight in the English-speaking world outside, especially that part of it which has been comfortably relaxed in tacit support for the regime — and for the profits that can be creamed off from the system;

they must have been of some encouragement and cheer also to those who struggle inside South Africa against an enemy seemingly richer, better armed, and better supported internationally than themselves. Whatever purpose the visit served for Kennedy himself, therefore, for South Africa's opponents of the regime it served some purpose. Some of them observed it in silence; some came to applaud. But only Azapo came to jeer.

And the world's media, always more interested in seeing the famous get egg on their faces than in boosting their message, turned the Azapo jeers into the main story of the whole visit. The small numbers of Azapo supporters who turned up at Kennedy's publicised appearances with placards of protest and shouts of 'Go home!' stole the headlines. For here, to the undisguised joy of the media — and especially of the South African establishment press and radio — was the spectacle of the Senator being humbled by those whose cause he purported to espouse. It was a classic Man-Bites-Dog type of story; and the media milked it for all it was worth. Azapo had its day in the sun, stealing the front of the Kennedy stage. It was theatre of high order. But what were its politics?

If one is to take the posters of Azapo demonstrators at the Kennedy events as serious political pronouncements, the feeling cannot be avoided that one is dealing here more with theatre than with the serious politics of struggle. The placards rang with left-wing rhetoric: 'No to capitalism! No to imperialism!' and 'Yes to socialism.' The rhetoric was reinforced by Azapo spokesmen — as, for example vice-president George Wauchope:

"We regard the Kennedy visit as promoting imperialism and international capitalism. This was confirmed by his meeting with 600 businessmen in Johannesburg.... His main aim is to see that there is stability in South Africa; he is not interested in the complete overhauling of the system..."

Or Kenny Mosime, president of the Azapo student wing, Azasm:

"Our rationale for the rejection of Kennedy is based on the socialist principle underlying our struggle against capitalism and racism. ... There is no doubt that his visit is calculated at quelling this heightened spirit of the black working class against imperialism."

But what are the politics behind this militant, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and socialistic phraseology? In what sense are we to understand Azapo's concept of imperialism to which it says decisively: No!? Is it no to Kennedy, or to US senators only? Or are these mere symbols of 'imperialism'? And if so, what is the reality of the imperialism they symbolise? One searches the Azapo statements in vain for an answer. Can it be that Azapo confuses the reality of imperialism with its symbols? I think not. There are mentions in Azapo's publications of 'seminars' and 'study papers', which seem to indicate that some thought is being given to defining their concepts of 'imperialism', 'capitalism' and 'socialism'. But whatever definitions may be emerging, they are not made public, perhaps for reasons of security in South Africa's ubiquitous and pervasive police state, or perhaps because Azapo considers that definitions and the theory of politics belong to the leading cadres alone, and that the public must be satisfied with slogans. It is hard to tell which.

But one cannot avoid the impression that Azapo's politics is concerned more with the declamations and slogans of left-wing radicalism than with the strategy and tactics of struggle. The declamation, the political gesture of

militancy seems to be the primary purpose and the justification of policy; action, struggle appear to be secondary. Is this judgment too harsh? Perhaps more light will be thrown on this if we turn from the minor matter of Kennedy's visit to more important matters — for example to the statement of 'Aims & Objects' of Azapo, as adopted at its founding conference:

To conscientise, politicise and mobilise Black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness<sup>1</sup> in order to strive for their legitimate rights.

To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians.<sup>2</sup>

To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle.

To promote and encourage research into various problems affecting our people.

To expose the oppressive and exploitative system in which our people are denied basic human rights.

To work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania.

There are several significant aspects of this statement, which is quoted in full. First — and most importantly — that the only items which point in the direction of concrete political action are:

mobilising black workers to fight for their rights;

working towards a new educational system;

working towards a just distribution of wealth.

Thin though these aims are, they are nevertheless the beginning of a programme of political action.

Second, that the preponderance of the 'Aims & Objects' deals with ideas, propaganda, philosophy — not with action:

To conscientise and politicise;

to reinterpret religious philosophy;

to promote research;

to expose the nature of the system.

There is nothing strange in this weighting towards ideology and propaganda rather than action in Azapo's founding manifesto; that reflects fairly accurately the organisation's origins within the ranks of the black students and young intelligentsia. Azapo's involvement in the student milieu has continued until today, despite deliberate attempts by most of its leaders to turn it ever more sharply towards the working class — which explains the fiercely working-class and workerist rhetoric of recent years despite the fundamentally non-working-class basis of its membership.

South Africa's schools and colleges have for long been a hot-bed of discontent and agitation against the authorities; in many episodes of struggle students have set the standards of militancy and of preparedness for sacrifice for their elders — and other occupational groups — to follow. Some commentators have sought to depict the students as the real leading core of the coming South African revolution, as others some years back tried to portray the Paris students of the 1968 events. But whatever theorists may try to make of the students, in South Africa they remain a small fraction of the black population; and whatever discrimination they suffer through second-class citizenship and Bantu Education, they nevertheless remain a comparatively privileged sector of that black population, with prospects of better pay, better jobs, more comfortable livings and futures than the rest.



## Role of the Workers

Azapo has not — despite its student origins — subscribed to the view of the students as the leading revolutionary core. On the contrary, the Preamble to its founding statement of Aims and Objects is heavily weighted with references to the *workers*, in such phrases as:

“recognising that Black workers in particular are responsible for creating the wealth...

workers are subjected to the most inhuman and ruthless laws;...

the worker is more determined to see freedom and justice...”

and so on. There is, however, no explanation of what it is that sets the worker apart from the rest of the population; and in fact the Preamble almost suggests that the terms ‘workers’ and ‘people’ are interchangeable — for instance:

“Believing that Black Consciousness be developed and maintained as a true philosophy for *workers*

(we) therefore resolve

to found a political movement which will express and manifest the aspirations of the Black *People* in Azania.” (My emphasis throughout. T.)

But ideology does not remain static in a changing world. Since Azapo’s formation the confusions of ideology have gradually given way to a clearer concept of the special character of the working class as the most revolutionary element in society, though the confusion between ‘workers’ and ‘people’ remains. At the National Forum meeting in Johannesburg in July last year in which Azapo played the leading part, the Manifesto was adopted included *inter alia* the following:

“The Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle for national self-determination in a unitary Azania. They alone can end the system as it stands today...

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organisations to mobilise the oppressed people in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.”

The impetus for this shift in ideology towards the working class has been the rapidly advancing trade union organisation and union struggle of recent years, in which the black workers have removed the matter of which class leads the struggle from the realm of theory and debate, and demonstrated the answer.

But no organisation which seeks to lead a major political struggle can possibly wait upon events, or allow ideology to be propelled from behind by the masses. Azapo aspires to lead. A resolution from its January congress calls for Azapo to make itself available to “... lead, give direction, and actively participate in” the struggles of the workers and the trade unions. But with what ideology? If the founding Aims and Objects still hold true, it sets out to ‘conscientise and politicise and mobilise’ — and now lead black workers through the “Philosophy of Black Consciousness.” One searches the philosophical outpourings of the Black Consciousness movement for an ideology which copes with the concept of the working class as a leading force of the social change. In vain. On the contrary, black consciousness highlights the need for individual and personal change rather than social change, for mental change rather than political. Thus for example, the first issue of the Azapo journal ‘Frank Talk’ (March 1984):

"Briefly defined therefore, Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression — the blackness of their skin — and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude."

And again:

"Merely by describing yourself as black, you have started on the road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as subservient."

These statements (reprinted by 'Frank Talk' from a 1971 document, thus giving them the apparent Azapo seal of approval today) are fair enough a statement of the positive elements in the Black Consciousness movement — the need for black people to recognise their blackness rather than to seek to conceal it by acting 'white'; to take pride in self and their own colour; to join together to end subservience to white domination.

### **An Act of Faith**

But as a philosophy for overturning the social order, for ending imperialism or for constructing socialism, for enabling the working class to play its historic role of organising and leading other classes to the new society, it is hopelessly inadequate. Put together all the relevant statements in the same document, and one is left with what is at best an article of faith, a belief rather than a comprehensive political ideology:

"Being black is not a matter of pigmentation — being black is a reflection of a mental attitude."

The interrelationship between the consciousness of self and the emancipatory programme is of paramount importance. Blacks no longer seek to reform the system... Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realised in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand."

Maybe. But this leaves unanswered the most important questions: What is 'our emancipatory programme'? And where is it leading? What do blacks wish to come out of the transformed system? How, in fact, are people's wishes and aspirations to be translated from the field of desire into political and social reality? It is questions like these which every serious organisation that seeks to lead action for social change has got to grapple with and answer.

Azapo does not set out just to change mental attitudes, and inspire pride and confidence in 'blackness'. It sets out in fact to lead the social transformation: Azapo's Cape vice-president Cyril Jones is quoted in 'Azania Frontline':

"Our immediate task is to organise the oppressed under the leadership of the working class. The role of Azapo is to give the working class struggle a radical and revolutionary content, to guard against the hijacking of the struggle.... Azapo has certainly gone far beyond the original black consciousness organisations. It has identified and analysed more precisely the ideological dimensions of the struggle... in particular our ability to relate to the socialist content of our struggle."

Of this there can be little doubt. But one searches Azapo written documents in vain for clarification of these analyses and ideological dimensions. It may well be that, as suggested before, in South Africa's atmosphere of police surveillance and persecution of radical ideas, Azapo chooses not to make public the fruits of its private ideological explorations, except in broad generalisations about the leading role of the working class. Or — on the other hand — it could be that Azapo's 'ideological dimension' is

merely windy pretension, covering a real nakedness of political theory. No organisation which seeks to lead the working class can hope to establish its leadership by merely making public claim to "leadership."

It has to establish its claim in two ways: first, by publicising its theories and ideologies, and seek to win support for them from amongst the most advanced, thinking workers; and second, by taking part in every struggle of the working class in line with that ideology, thus testing out its ideology by practical demonstration. Ideology preserved as the secret only of the would-be leaders becomes sterile academism; ideology reduced to a few pithy commonplaces for public consumption becomes mere sloganising. In either case, it does little to raise the consciousness of the masses or to lead them in action. Ideology needs to be stated in public and tested in action; it needs to be subjected to constant re-appraisal and to debate and reconsideration in the light of experience. There is no sign that this is yet any part of Azapo's own 'ideological dimension'. If the dimensions of Azapo's ideology to which Jones refers exist, they exist only in private; and in public there is seen only the revolutionary and radical sloganising. This is again perhaps a sign of Azapo's preference for the dramatics of political proclamation, rather than the grind of public political action; for the *gestures* of radicalism rather than radical *actions*.

It is a truism that no organisation can hope to carry through a root-and-branch transformation of society by instinct and flair alone. What is needed is a theory of social transformation, to serve as a guide to action. Where action is not a primary aim, the need for an adequate theory can naturally be neglected. But any organisation seeking seriously to pass beyond desires to practical political action — and Azapo today certainly proclaims that purpose — needs an advanced theory; it needs to know how its own society operates, in order to understand in which direction it is developing and in which direction it can be moved. It needs to know what characteristics the new social order should have, what is possible, and how the possible can be attained. It needs to know not only how to generate political mobilisation and action, but also how to decide the strategy and tactics of that action at every change of a constantly changing social scene. Without such a theoretical basis, action will be blind action, and its consequences seldom those aimed at by its organisers.

It is impossible to suggest that there are not, within the ranks of Azapo, the intellectual resources and seriousness to develop just such a theory. But one looks in vain for evidence that they are in fact doing so — evidence, that is, other than the pronouncements of leaders such as that quoted above. There are, of course, always two ways to develop a theoretical solution to problems: to learn from and build on the experience of others; or to start from first principles without past references — in the manner of one who wants to carry his mealies to market but cannot do so until he has first invented the wheel and axle for himself. Azapo seems to me, in many ways, to be trying to reinvent the wheel — which may well of course result in a means of getting the goods to market; but not in our lifetime!

### Lessons of History

This conclusion is reached after much reading of Azapo material — speeches, seminar papers, resolutions and published articles. All of these

deal with South African problems as though these are newly discovered and therefore the answers have to be newly invented. No one, it would appear from Azapo statements, has ever before grappled with the problems with which Azapo now comes face to face; no one has provided any answers worth considering, any experience worth taking into account. One is given the impression that Azapo has discovered for itself the new truths — that the working class is destined to be the leading force in changing society, that the enemies of the people are capitalism and imperialism, that the transformed social order should be based on socialism. There is a total absence of any recognition that anyone has been here before or contributed anything to these discoveries, and no one whose explorations provide a base for further development. Marx — a long dead foreigner — is referred to very occasionally, usually in a disparaging manner not to show what might be learnt from him, but rather to demonstrate a superior wisdom; as for example Quraish Patel at an Azapo symposium:

“Orthodox Marxists look at a doctrine and mould it to reality; whereas black consciousness looks at reality and moulds its doctrines accordingly” (whatever that means).

But of all the vast accumulated experience and wisdom of the whole world's working class, of all the vast richness of theorising on working class problems from Marx and Engels and Lenin and many others, there is almost no sign. Nor — in particular relation to South Africa's own unique and difficult problems of transformation — is there any reference to the seventy years accumulated experience of the African National Congress, or the sixty years of the South African Communist Party. Reinventing the wheel of knowledge may be a salutary discipline for an isolated and remote searcher-after-truth in a stable period of history when time is of no importance. But in South Africa today, with its rising tide of mass struggle and clear signals of impending upheaval and revolution, such an exercise can only be described as an escape from the real world to the unreal — to a world like a stage set, where real life is not being lived but only being simulated.

There are, naturally, reasons for Azapo's blanket of silence over all other experience and theory. In part at least the reason must be that attention to the theoretical contribution of other movements, other philosophers, other politicians, will reveal that black consciousness does not hold the key to all political struggle; nor is it the total foundation for all serious analysis of the contemporary South African political scene. Black Consciousness — the movement which embraces Azapo amongst others — is in fact the Johnny-come-lately of South African politics. It cannot be denied that, even in the short life since its founding in 1978 it has made a substantial contribution to raising feelings of self-confidence and awareness in the black majority. But to suggest that it has done so by starting from first principles, by its own discoveries of previously undiscovered facts of black life, would be so to distort history as to make it unrecognisable. Far from starting its political work and ideology from first principles, Azapo in fact started from an advanced base, prepared for it by the ANC and the Communist Party amongst others, long before even the phrase 'Black Consciousness' had been coined in the USA and elsewhere.

In South Africa, the idea that blacks are in no way inferior to whites was pioneered by the African National Congress, as was the idea of black unity

spreading across the barriers of tribalism, language and ethnics. The idea that the working class can wield decisive strength through trade-union combination, and through political organisation could lead the way forward to a new socialist society, was pioneered by the Communist Party. The idea of all black groups — African, Asian and Coloured — united in political action was pioneered by the various Congresses. These bodies pioneered also the forms of mass struggle and mass organisation which have carried the whole South African people forward to the advanced trenches they occupy in today's battles. Black Consciousness and Azapo did not prepare the ground; they found it already prepared and well cultivated. They did not have to go through the titanic struggles against tribalism which were fought — and won — by the African National Congress. Nor did they have to sow the seeds of confidence in unity and trade-unionism amongst the working class, which had been commenced by generations of Communist and other militants before them. Black Consciousness is thus not the beginning of radical South African politics, but its latest outgrowth. It is not the fountainhead of black militancy or black struggle but only a part of its growth and development.

There is, in fact, a long historical thread of development of the ideology of South African resistance and struggle. The thread can be followed back to some of the earliest of resisters to colonisation and conquest. And all along that thread thinkers, writers and leaders have been distilling from the experiences the lessons which will provide an ideology of resistance and struggle which can lead to South African liberation. Azapo stands not at the beginning of that weave, but near its most recent edge. I stress this point, not because there is any special merit to being first in the table of time, but because I believe it is the fact that they are not the first — not the discoverers of consciousness and militancy and socialism — that explains the blanket of silence which Azapo maintains over all those who have gone before, over all their rich experience and all the theories summarised from that experience.

Their silence about what they cannot claim as their own, reveals a lack of seriousness at the heart of Azapo. For our country is in many ways unique in Africa; it has the longest and most varied experience of struggle, and of dealing with and attempting to solve the many extremely difficult problems which bedevil a multi-class and multi-racial society such as ours. We have accordingly through dire necessity — not through any special cleverness or talent — developed a rich body of theory based on a rich history of success and failure, of advance and retreat, of correct decisions and errors.

It is unreal to imagine that a country beset with such difficult problems of struggle and change as ours can hope to go rapidly or smoothly forward without studying that theory and learning from it, without taking on board the lessons which are to be learnt from the past. Azapo's failure to do this for what seems to me to be petty, self-important motives, denies the benefits of experience not only to the masses engaged in today's political struggles; it denies them also to Azapo itself, and thus reduces the organisation and its prospects very considerably. To illustrate the point:

Earlier in this article I drew attention to some confusion in Azapo usage of the terms 'people' and 'working class' and the use of these two terms as though they are interchangeable, each describing the same thing. I am not concerned with the semantics of this, but rather its politics. It follows surely that if 'the people' are the same as 'the working class', then either non-

working-class blacks are excluded from 'the people'; or alternatively, there are no black people who are not working class. The confusion in Azapo's statements makes it difficult to understand which of these logical consequences is believed — if either. We are told in Aims and Objects that Azapo was formed to "... express and manifest the aspirations of the Black People." And immediately thereafter we are told in Frank Talk that "... being black is a reflection of a mental attitude. ...Black people — real black people — are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man."

No mention of class here, and correctly not. For in South Africa as almost everywhere in the world, "the people" are made up of elements drawn from several different classes. However one may regret the fact, there *are* blacks who can 'hold their heads in defiance' who clearly are middle class — traders, merchants, professionals, small employers; and not just amongst the Indian and Coloured groups only, but increasingly — as a result of government policy — amongst Africans as well. Government now deliberately seeks to create a privileged black middle class — still discriminated against in various ways, but nonetheless benefitting from some of the hand-outs of the system — and to set that class up as a counter to the radical and revolutionary class element — the black working class. It cannot assist the political struggle to fudge this fact, or gloss it over in confusion.

### Need for a Class Philosophy

Yet there are good reasons why Azapo does so. And those reasons lie in its acceptance of the philosophy of black consciousness not as a *part* of a wider philosophy of socialism, but as the *whole* of it. Black consciousness, without a doubt, can provide a common outlook — a mental attitude, which can attract both workers and black middle class elements. But it cannot and does not provide a uniquely working-class philosophy and view of the world, such as will enable the working class to realise itself as a class, to fulfil its historic destiny of overthrowing the present capitalist order to create a new working-class based socialist order. A class programme requires a class philosophy and class world outlook; it cannot hope to triumph without one, even though the broad general lines of an all-class philosophy like black consciousness may provide a starting point, a frame of reference for the development of a specifically class outlook.

Black consciousness is a philosophy which seeks to unite and unify all classes of blacks under one umbrella; it cannot satisfy the *special* class aspirations of the working class; in the end it must muffle those special class aspirations, in order to present an acceptable face to all blacks of all classes who — by Azapo definition — are those who accept themselves as black and are prepared to defy white supremacy.

How then is one to solve this fundamental dilemma? Only by conceding that black consciousness — whatever its general merits — is not and cannot be a *total* philosophy for social and political revolution led by the working class; it can only be a *part* of a total philosophy. It is no good for Azapo to fudge this dilemma. It grows straight out of the nature of South African oppression, and its creation of a class-divided black population with a predominant working-class sector.

How can one combine diverse elements in a single struggle? What is the relationship of one class to another? No doubt — as with the task of inventing wheel and axle — Azapo may itself some day come to a resolution of these complex problems. It has not done so yet; and in the rising tide of struggle in which we now live in South Africa, it is unlikely to be given time to solve the problems for itself starting from first principles.

We in the Communist Party of South Africa should not be surprised that Azapo has not, in its short history, found the answers to all dilemmas, or developed for itself an ideology as fully considered and rounded out as we would desire. As our own recent anniversary should remind us, it took our party 40 years of debate, inner-party struggle and persistent re-analysis of our position to formulate our present comprehensive view of the problem of class and nation, which form the basis of our 1962 Party Programme. And even that formulation is still not finite, not complete, but is constantly being discussed and reviewed, widened and enriched by the fertilising addition of new experiences in action. There is no reason to suppose that what took our Party forty years, starting from the advanced base of world working-class experience enshrined in the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, is likely to be accomplished again in less time by anyone starting from first principles.

There is, of course, no reason any more for Azapo or anyone else to start from first principles. The historic record of those forty years and its analyses is available to them. The rich treasure house of Marxist theory is available to them. If they choose to ignore all that — to invent the whole thing anew for themselves — it can only be for one of two reasons: because bloated self-importance and pride will not allow them to admit that they have anything to learn from others outside their ranks; or because, having pinned their faith on black consciousness as their total creed, they are not serious enough in their politics to be prepared to admit that perhaps — after all — there is less than *total* knowledge and *total* truth to be found therein. And that therefore black consciousness philosophy must be extended to encompass the experiences — universal and South African — which extend far beyond the mental frontiers of the ideology of 'blackness'.

Azapo says it is committed to a socialist solution and dedicated to pursuing that objective through mobilisation of the masses. It perceives correctly that its aim can only be achieved through the radical and revolutionary power of the working class leading the revolutionary process. It correctly identifies the bedrock on which the apartheid state is built as capitalism and imperialism. If Azapo is serious in its politics it will be serious enough to study and learn from the accumulated experience of others who set out on such a path before them. In so doing they will find, as other organisations and revolutionaries have found before them, a clear class ideology to replace today's confusion. And without these confusions they will see the way clear to forging forms of alliance with those other radical and revolutionary forces — including the ANC and the Communist Party — who are struggling forward in the same direction.

Azapo's response to this challenge is the test of its seriousness. If it fails, it can look forward to nothing except a walk-on part in the theatricals on the sidelines of struggle.

**Footnotes:**

1. "Black Consciousness" can be used to describe two separate phenomena — either an organised movement of people of like mind; or an individual state of mind on the matter of 'blackness'. I have used capital letters throughout for the first meaning, and lower case letters for the second — except in direct quotations where I have followed the usage in the original which may or may not have the same significance.

2. Azapo and some other, usually small, Black Consciousness organisations have taken it on themselves to rename our country 'Azania'. I do not follow them in this usage. It seems to me somewhat arrogant for a minority sect to assume the right to rename the country, without any opportunity to test public opinion on the change or secure general consent for it. When the time comes to reconstruct South Africa, the name will be decided by the people. For the time being, therefore, I stay with the term 'South Africa'; and only use the term 'Azania' when I am quoting directly from another source.

CSO: 3400/46



SOUTH AFRICA

SOLIDARITY SPLIT ON PFP ISSUE

Durban POST NATAL in English 18-21 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text] SOME members of Solidarity, official opposition in the House of Delegates, will oppose moves to merge with the Progressive Federal Party, Solidarity executive member Mr Ismail Omar said this week.

He said the entire executive committee had decided earlier this year against a merger with any party.

According to high-placed party sources, Solidarity is split at executive and branch level over planned moves to merge with the PFP.

Some hold the view that the party should go it alone by becoming non-racial but retaining its name, while others believe a merger with the PFP would give it more political muscle. A third view is that it should maintain its Indian-only identity.

Mr Omar said he would oppose moves for a merger or disbandment of the party.

"There are sound reasons for Solidarity retaining its identity. Solidarity has been a multi-racial party since its inception, despite the provisions of the Improper Political Interference Act.

"The repeal of the Act has, therefore, not changed the basis of its existence," he said.

Mr Omar said Solidarity better understood the problems of the under-privileged in an apartheid society, because it was "born from among the ranks of oppressed people".

"Therefore it not only knows about their problems but actually feels the effects."

CSO: 3400/24

SOUTH AFRICA

KWANDEBELE SEEN AS NOT VIABLE IN SPITE OF UPCOMING INDEPENDENCE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Sep 85 p 10

[Article by Sue Leeman]

[Text]

**INDEPENDENCE:** The 350 000 ha homeland of kwaNdebele, which nudges the central Transvaal town of Bronkhorstspuit, is home to an estimated 300 000 people of mixed ethnic descent, but mostly Ndebeles.

They are ruled from the capital, Siyabuswa, by Mr Simon Skosana, his six-member Cabinet and a 46-man legislative assembly appointed by the region's tribal authorities.

In April 1981 kwaNdebele received self-governing status and in May the following year began independence talks with the South African Government.

Consolidation procedures have been complex and are not yet complete.

A total of 183 000 ha was purchased in the Bronkhorstspuit, Cullinan and Groblersdal areas for incorporation and negotiations are still under way regarding certain land in Lebowa and Bophuthatswana.

Apart from Siyabuswa, Ekangala (18 km north of Bronkhorstspuit) is being developed as a major town and is expected to have a population of at least 300 000 by the year 2000.

Create Jobs

An attempt is being made to create jobs in the newly established Ekandustria industrial township nearby.

**BUDGET:** kwaNdebele is to spend more than R69 million on development during 1985/86, according to the homeland's Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, Mr Zenani Mnguni.

Presenting his budget recently, Mr Mnguni said this figure was 22 percent higher than that of 1984/85.

The bulk of kwaNdebele's income during the current financial year will come in the form of grants, totalling R50,3 million, from the South African Government.

R21 million has been allocated to the Department of Works while the Department of Education and Culture will receive R19,1 million, R1,1 million of which has been earmarked for the building of classrooms.

**DORMITORY HOMELAND:** Every morning Putco buses ferry 15 600 workers from kwaNdebele to their places of employment outside the homeland — and then back again at night.

For most daily commuters, the working day is a very long one, and many rise as early as 2 am to catch buses.

But this does not paint the full picture of just how many workers are provided by the tiny dormitory homeland, whose people travel as far afield as Middelburg, Nylstroom and Marble Hall in search of employment.

Many workers, in an attempt to save money, opt to board in hostels or with friends near their place of work, returning home only at weekends or the end of the month.

So the number of commuting workers is in fact far more than 16 000 — and this in spite of Government claims that adequate job opportunities are being provided within kwaNdebele itself.

**INDUSTRY:** By the end of April next year kwaNdebele's prime industrial centre, Ekandustria, should have 64 factories employing a total of 5 300 people.

Marketing manager for the kwaNdebele Development Corporation, Mr Piet du Plessis, said it was hoped the jobs created since February 1984 would reduce kwaNdebele's unemployment problems.

Goods such as clothing, textiles, furniture, light engineering goods, packaging and luggage are being produced. Ninety percent of all products are marketed in South Africa.

**AGRICULTURE:** In real terms only about 15 or 20 percent of kwaNdebele's land is arable and the main agricultural activity at this stage is livestock farming.

However, Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Trevor Terwin, says it is hoped that the homeland will one day become agriculturally self-sufficient.

In the meantime, kwaNdebele must import vital commodities such as maize.

## Concentrated

Only R6 million will be spent on agriculture in 1985/86 — about eight percent of the homeland's total budget.

Cattle farming is largely concentrated in the northern parts of kwaNdebele and Mr Terwin puts total herds at about 20 000 head.

He says there are about 500 black farmers with land rights enabling them to grow maize, sorghum, groundnuts, sugar beans and vegetables.

A total of 2 000 tons of maize are produced annually by small peasant farmers and those with larger, economic land units, Mr Terwin says.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW FEEDING SCHEME WILL HELP THOUSANDS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

Thousands of starving children and their families will benefit when the Department of National Health and Population Planning launches a nationwide feeding scheme in the next few weeks.

Help has already been given to families in the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand has been designated an emergency area.

An interdepartmental committee headed by Dr Colin Cameron, a chief director of the department of National Health and Population Planning, will submit a report in the next 10 days outlining the main problem areas.

"Our resources are fairly limited and so it is essential that we pinpoint the areas where help is needed most," said Dr Cameron.

The food, which will be bought from the agricultural marketing boards,

will be carried by the army to the areas where it is needed. It will then be given to the local authorities who will use clinics, school services or other organisations for the final distribution.

"This new scheme will not be easy to co-ordinate. Our aim is not to create a new feeding system, but to help those already in existence," Dr Cameron said.

AVAILABILITY

He was not sure how long the feeding scheme would last.

"The availability of food will obviously dictate the duration of the scheme."

He added that if people wanted to help with the distribution of food or with donations they should contact local welfare organisations or their local director of health.

CSO: 3400/57

SOUTH AFRICA

RESERVE BANK STATEMENT AS OF 31 AUGUST ISSUED

Pretoria GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in English 13 Sep 85 pp 33

[Text]

NOTICE 570 OF 1985

South African Reserve Bank

Statement of Assets and Liabilities on the 31st day of August 1985

Liabilities

R

Capital	2 000 000,00
Reserve Fund	42 424 241,17
Notes in circulation	3 698 301 162,00
Deposits:	
Government	1 201 073 397,72
Provincial Administrations	35 476 130,78
Bankers	992 385 847,21
Other	1 089 307 239,05
Other liabilities	5 966 637 747,22
	<u>\$13 027 605 765,15</u>

Assets

Gold	4 804 940 511,15
Foreign:	
Bills	--
Investments	102 100 759,75

Other assets	<u>762 020 979,33</u>
Total gold and foreign assets	5 669 062 250,23
Domestic:	
Bills discounted	1 671 600 000,00
Loans and Advances:	
Government	--
Other	977 417 756,74
Securities:	
Government	51 304 061,82
Other	557 758 185,75
Other assets	<u>4 100 463 510,61</u>
	\$13 027 605 765,15

Ratio of gold reserve to liabilities to the public less foreign assets 63.9 per cent.

Pretoria, 5 September 1985.

G. P. Groenewald, General Manager

CSO: 3400/18

## SOUTH AFRICA

## EXCHEQUER REPORTS APRIL-AUGUST RECEIPTS, TRANSFERS

Pretoria GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in English/Afrikaans 13 Sep 85 pp 15-17

[Text] No. 2078, 13 September 1985

Statement of Receipts into and Transfers from the Exchequer Account for the period 1 April 1985 to 31 August 1985

Treasury, Pretoria

## Receipts

Head of Revenue	Month of August		Total 1 April to 31 August	
	1985	1984	1985	1984
	R	R	R	R
Exchequer Balance, 31 March 1985.....	—	—	533 229 222	—
Exchequer Balance, 31 July 1985.....	174 786 628	—	—	—
<i>State Revenue Account</i>				
Inland Revenue.....	3 030 869 475	2 372 312 136	10 938 405 250	7 887 297 388
Customs and Excise.....	193 639 875	253 518 241	507 171 978	666 508 313
R	3 224 509 350	2 625 830 377	11 445 577 228	8 553 805 701
National Road Fund.....	—	15 129 740	3 101 131	72 413 041
State Oil Fund.....	—	22 429 604	2 640 274	126 629 430
S. A. Development Trust Fund.....	2 737 255	1 798 000	6 455 255	8 336 005
Sorghum Beer Research Fund.....	—	—	1 107	—
S.W.A. Territorial Revenue Fund.....	—	—	150	2 040
R	2 737 255	39 357 344	12 197 917	207 380 516
R	3 227 246 605	2 665 187 721	11 457 775 145	8 761 186 217
<i>Other Receipts</i>				
Treasury Bills: Internal.....	1 343 625 000	—	6 720 836 000	—
Internal Stock, Bonds and Loans Raised:				
Indefinite Period Treasury Bonds.....	7 594 600	—	31 775 600	—
Indefinite Period National Defence Bonds.....	796 800	—	5 457 300	—
Internal Registered Stock:				
15.5%, 1990.....	—	—	1 437 000 000	—
	—	—	(88 475 000)*	—
16%, 1986.....	—	—	500 000 000	—
	—	—	(16 822 000)*	—
15 %, 1988.....	—	—	350 000 000	—
	—	—	(27 800 000)*	—
14.5%, 2006.....	—	—	168 000 000	—
	—	—	(20 579 000)*	—
15%, 1994.....	150 500 000	—	450 500 000	—
	(10 069 000)*	—	(27 278 000)*	—

14%, 1992 .....	---	---	500 000 000	---
14.5%, 1987 .....	---	---	(27 966 000)*	---
14%, 1987 .....	---	---	50 000 000	---
14%, 1987 .....	30 000 000	---	(830 000)*	---
Foreign Loans and Credits raised:	(1 296 000)*	---	180 000 000	---
1978 .....	---	---	(4 114 000)*	---
1985/91 .....	---	---	74 266 617	---
1981/86 .....	1 173 004	---	146 341 463	---
Surrenders, Revenue Services 1984/85 .....	14 048 248	---	7 420 216	---
			20 161 143	---
R	1 547 737 652	---	10 641 758 341	---
*Less Discount RSA Stocks .....	11 365 000	---	213 884 000	---
R	1 536 372 652	---	10 427 894 341	---
R	4 763 619 257	---	21 885 669 486	---
<b>Appropriation Account: House of Assembly</b>				
Inland Revenue .....	6 837 198	---	7 979 280	---
Transfer from State Revenue Account .....	151 157 000	---	1 069 378 000	---
R	157 994 198	---	1 077 357 280	---
<b>Appropriation Account: House of Representatives</b>				
Inland Revenue .....	1 749	---	15 910	---
Transfer from State Revenue Account .....	117 000 000	---	517 000 000	---
R	117 001 749	---	517 015 910	---
<b>Appropriation Account: House of Delegates</b>				
Inland Revenue .....	462 156	---	1 123 601	---
Transfer from State Revenue Account .....	47 060 000	---	220 360 000	---
R	47 522 156	---	221 483 601	---
R	5 086 137 360	---	23 701 526 277	---
Total (including Opening Balance) .....	5 260 923 988	---	24 234 735 499	---

## Issues

Service	Estimates	Month of August		Total 1 April to 31 August	
	1985/86	1985	1984	1985	1984
	R	R	R	R	R
<b>State Revenue Account</b>					
<b>Votes</b>					
1. State President .....	10 908 000	868 000	965 416	4 368 000	4 407 080
Statutory Amount .....	266 000	22 170	13 083	110 850	65 415
2. Parliament .....	19 736 000	1 760 000	1 049 000	8 117 000	4 754 000
Statutory Amount .....	12 036 000	880 000	547 000	4 872 000	2 737 000
3. Transport .....	503 340 000	42 168 000	26 333 000	196 304 000	145 566 000
4. Constitutional Development and Planning ..	5 350 229 000	445 508 000	378 637 000	2 317 660 000	1 943 198 000
5. Foreign Affairs .....	1 177 616 000	90 000 000	40 050 000	465 800 000	198 250 000
Statutory Amount .....	700 000	57 000	10 040 000	285 000	50 200 000
6. Home Affairs .....	46 174 000	4 608 000	90 911 768	20 054 100	536 859 619
7. Commission for Administration .....	63 702 000	1 100 000	8 373 000	54 431 000	39 411 000
8. Improvement of Conditions of Service .....	235 000 000	---	---	3 261 720	---
9. National Education .....	107 336 000	8 907 000	68 300 000	42 291 000	488 900 000
10. Police .....	954 709 000	76 000 000	65 000 000	437 000 000	347 300 000
11. Public Works and Land Affairs .....	1 119 001 000	80 000 000	138 000 000	420 000 000	465 000 000
12. National Health and Population Development	1 336 416 000	103 000 000	145 000 000	575 730 000	730 000 000
Statutory Amount .....	302 000	17 000	21 000	85 000	79 400
13. Administration: House of Assembly .....	387 849 000	---	---	---	---
Statutory Amount .....	1 925 932 000	151 157 000	---	1 069 378 000	---
14. Co-operation and Development .....	2 159 657 000	154 372 000	92 000 000	796 298 800	479 000 000
Statutory Amount .....	276 851 000	23 070 000	18 000 000	115 350 000	151 000 000
15. Education and Training .....	917 486 000	73 000 000	42 000 000	365 000 000	291 000 000
16. Defence .....	4 274 108 000	329 000 000	316 000 000	1 865 000 000	1 674 300 000



17. Manpower.....	127 973 000	7 000 000	6 700 000	38 400 000	34 507 000
18. Trade and Industry.....	954 137 000	60 000 000	40 000 000	340 000 000	278 760 000
19. Justice.....	177 075 000	13 500 000	10 000 000	70 000 000	53 500 000
Statutory Amount.....	9 379 000	780 000	500 000	3 840 000	4 423 000
20. Prisons.....	358 798 000	27 227 000	27 366 000	159 341 000	152 711 000
21. Agricultural Economics and Marketing.....	578 959 000	73 600 000	113 000 000	373 600 000	380 700 000
22. Water Affairs.....	248 030 000	24 200 000	—	107 400 000	—
23. Mineral and Energy Affairs.....	627 553 000	62 700 000	76 980 000	321 633 000	217 480 000
24. Finance.....	993 162 000	76 600 000	70 000 000	381 350 000	347 000 000
Statutory Amount.....	5 093 577 000	365 412 000	274 089 000	2 207 303 000	1 761 502 000
	(615 000 000)*	(11 365 000)*	(68 114 000)*	(213 864 000)*	(283 633 000)*
25. Audit.....	11 986 000	999 000	849 000	4 995 000	4 529 000
26. Environment Affairs.....	122 928 000	9 700 000	32 700 000	51 700 000	163 800 000
27. Administration: House of Representatives.....	261 770 000	—	—	—	—
Statutory Amount.....	1 070 107 000	117 000 000	—	517 000 000	—
28. Administration: House of Delegates.....	108 029 000	—	—	—	—
Statutory Amount.....	452 164 000	47 060 000	—	220 360 000	—
R	32 074 981 000	2 471 272 170	2 093 624 267	13 547 318 470	10 950 939 514
*Less Discount R.S.A. Stocks.....	615 000 000	11 365 000	68 114 000	213 864 000	283 633 000
R	31 459 981 000	2 459 907 170	2 025 510 267	13 333 454 470	10 667 306 514
<b>Standing Appropriations</b>					
National Road Fund.....	—	—	25 129 740	3 101 131	72 413 041
State Oil Fund.....	—	—	22 429 604	2 640 274	126 629 430
S.A. Development Trust Fund.....	20 500 000	2 737 255	1 798 000	6 455 255	8 336 005
Sorghum Beer Research Fund.....	1 800 000	—	—	1 107	—
S.W.A. Territorial Revenue Fund.....	1 000	—	—	150	2 040
R	22 301 000	2 737 255	49 357 344	12 197 917	207 380 516
R	31 482 282 000	2 462 644 425	2 074 867 611	13 345 652 387	10 874 687 030
<b>Standing Appropriations</b>					
National Road Fund.....	—	—	25 129 740	3 101 131	72 413 041
State Oil Fund.....	—	—	22 429 604	2 640 274	126 629 430
S.A. Development Trust Fund.....	20 500 000	2 737 255	1 798 000	6 455 255	8 336 005
Sorghum Beer Research Fund.....	1 800 000	—	—	1 107	—
S.W.A. Territorial Revenue Fund.....	1 000	—	—	150	2 040
R	22 301 000	2 737 255	49 357 344	12 197 917	207 380 516
R	31 482 282 000	2 462 644 425	2 074 867 611	13 345 652 387	10 874 687 030
<b>Other Issues</b>					
Treasury Bills repaid: Internal.....	—	1 994 007 000	—	7 689 119 000	—
Tax Redemption Certificates repaid.....	—	126	—	147	—
Loan Levy repaid.....	—	1 056 604	—	5 514 085	—
Currency Subscription, I.B.R.D.....	—	—	—	14 876 784	—
Currency Subscription, I.D.A.....	—	288 000	—	371 000	—
I.M.F.: Valuation Adjustment.....	—	—	—	1 294	—
Internal Stock, Bonds and Loans Redeemed:					
8% National Defence Bonds.....	—	5 000	—	969 250	—
7% Treasury Bonds.....	—	257 400	—	1 931 400	—
Second Series 8% Treasury Bonds.....	—	258 200	—	1 304 700	—
Indefinite Period Treasury Bonds.....	—	2 425 800	—	19 553 900	—
Indefinite Period National Defence Bonds.....	—	919 450	—	4 784 750	—
Defence Bonus Bonds.....	—	—	—	84 517 315	—
Internal Registered Stock:					
9.75%, 2001.....	—	200 100	—	422 100	—
11.5%, 2001.....	—	212 000	—	339 000	—
10.35%, 2001.....	—	775 400	—	1 798 400	—
9.8%, 2001.....	—	737 300	—	2 611 550	—
9.25%, 2002.....	—	1 167 900	—	2 932 700	—
9.25%, 2004.....	—	2 142 749	—	5 501 699	—
9.0%, 2004.....	—	613 667	—	1 547 667	—
9.375%, 2004.....	—	618 500	—	1 975 000	—
15%, 1985.....	—	—	—	500 000 000	—
5.5%, 1985.....	—	—	—	45 707 408	—
10.5%, 1992.....	—	10 000	—	347 000	—
10%, 1996.....	—	118 500	—	231 000	—
11%, 1997.....	—	1 053 050	—	2 414 170	—
11%, 1998.....	—	1 214 250	—	2 626 300	—
10.75%, 1999.....	—	652 200	—	1 208 700	—
10.25%, 2000.....	—	64 000	—	388 660	—
10.625%, 2000.....	—	392 000	—	963 000	—
10%, 2000.....	—	765 910	—	1 504 910	—
10.5%, 2000.....	—	187 500	—	850 700	—
6%, 1985.....	—	108 903 106	—	108 903 106	—

Service	Estimates	Month of August		Total 1 April to 31 August	
	1985/86	1985	1984	1985	1984
	R	R	R	R	R
Foreign Loans and Credits Redeemed:					
1978.....	—	—	—	66 555 740	—
1983/87.....	—	—	—	23 540 889	—
1981/86.....	—	—	—	6 491 720	—
1976.....	—	—	—	33 252 825	—
1984/87.....	—	—	—	54 913 936	—
1985.....	—	73 072 955	—	99 866 411	—
Issues, Revenue Services 1984/85.....	—	22 769	—	1 605 769	—
R	—	2 192 141 436	—	8 791 443 985	—
Total State Revenue Account.....R	—	4 634 785 861	—	22 137 096 372	—
Appropriation Account: House of Assembly.....R	—	151 157 000	—	1 069 378 000	—
Appropriation Account: House of Representatives.....R	—	117 000 000	—	517 000 000	—
Appropriation Account: House of Delegates.....R	—	47 060 000	—	220 360 000	—
R	—	315 217 000	—	1 806 738 000	—
Totals.....R	—	4 970 002 861	—	23 943 834 372	—
Exchequer Balance, 31 August 1985.....R	—	290 921 127	—	290 921 127	—
Totals.....R	—	5 260 923 988	—	24 234 755 499	—

CSO: 3400/18

SOUTH AFRICA

NATION NEEDS ECONOMIC PLAN, SAYS EXPERT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 85 p 21

[Article by Daan de Kock]

[Text]

**DR FRANK SHOSTAK**, economist of Econometrics, was nearly spot-on in forecasting the movements in the value of the rand.

On Saturday, 20 October, 1984 The Citizen quoted him as saying: "If the South African Government doesn't drastically prune its spending, a microscope will be needed to see the rand."

He forecast that the rand would drop as low as 32 US cents.

He also warned then that SA had no monetary policy at all and one of the pre-requisites was to abolish the liquid asset system to control money supply as soon as

possible; otherwise the country would be unable to curb inflation.

In January this year he not only warned about the size of South Africa's debt, but also estimated it at between \$20-billion and \$25-billion, and expressed concern that most trade surpluses would be wiped out through interest payments.

"However, the erosion of the economic fundamentals is the biggest factor which deters foreigners from investing in South Africa".

Was it only coincidence that his forecasts were correct? This time he is asking for a detailed economic plan to solve our problems. — D de K

WE MUST not start to panic now, but should admit that we have made mistakes in the past and as a matter of urgency draw up a blue print for future economic action as soon as possible, otherwise things could only get worse, Dr Frank Shostak, economist of Econometrics, said yesterday.

Dr Shostak was commenting on the recent introduction of a four-month standstill in the repayment of our overseas debt and the re-introduction of the financial rand to prevent the further outflow of money out of the country.

He told The Citizen in an interview yesterday that there is no short and easy way out of our present dilemma, particularly now that we have to trade off future economic growth against the repayment of overseas debt.

Dr Shostak said the first thing we must do

now is to stop treating the symptoms of our problems and go straight to the roots of the problems.

He compared our present approach to that of a parasite on a human body. The parasite can be removed by various means to the suffering of the patient, but at the end of the day the patient will still be alive.

Another approach is to starve the patient to death and in that way get rid of the parasite. The latter is the approach we are following in South Africa at the moment, he says.

Dr Shostak says the blueprint, apart from in-

cluding a timetable, should make provision for:

- Privatisation and the reduction of the involvement of the Government in private enterprise as soon as possible.

- The immediate reduction of all taxes.

- An immediate stop to excessive printing of money.

- A move back to the gold standard as soon as possible.

Dr Shostak says this will be a gradual process, but the introduction of such a blueprint will bring back overseas confidence — something we badly need at the moment.

He is still convinced that the root of our present problems is excessive

monetary growth, which in turn leads to high inflation.

He points out that the excessive growth in money supply (money growth less real growth) is still far too high, and in such a situation it is impossible to control inflation.

He believes the only effective way to control inflation is to introduce the gold standard again.

Another alternative is to look at the "cash-only reserve system" used by the Americans. A third possibility is the re-introduction of the old credit ceilings of banks.

He, however, believes the reintroduction of the gold standard will have to be the greatest success.

Although Dr Shostak disagrees on some of the principles that the Reserve Bank followed in recent years, he still favours the free market system, but with certain reservations.

He says the micro- and macro-economic approach that everybody is talking about lately is a creation of economists and is not a reality.

We should rather start to think about individuals in the economy. If we are able to maximise the wealth of the individual, we will also be able to maximise the wealth of the country.

Dr Shostak says to blame politics for overseas investments leaving the country is a fallacy too.

SOUTH AFRICA

STATE HANDLING OF ECONOMY SLAMMED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 9

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text]

MOST of Afrikaner business's young elite are unanimous in their condemnation of the way Government and the Reserve Bank have allowed the SA economy to deteriorate.

This emerged from a straw poll conducted yesterday among a number of young Afrikaners who are making names for themselves in business.

The view commonly held was that the outside political pressures being exerted against SA would not have been nearly as effective if the economy had been more efficiently managed.

"If Government and the Reserve Bank had been in private business they would have been sacked long ago," commented one executive disgustedly.

"The authorities were warned time and again not to permit the country's foreign borrowings to mount unchecked. But these warnings were not heeded, and now the chickens have come home to roost," observed another.

There appeared to be consensus that the withdrawal of banks like Chase Manhattan, and the cutting off of various credit lines was only marginally motivated by political considerations.

"The retreat was started for purely economic reasons, and that continues to be the basis for keeping SA in the cold," suggested the chief executive of a major institution.

Bankers generally had become worried over SA's debt situation and the deterioration of the rand against most other currencies, he added.

The poor picture presented by the country's balance sheet started the run. Overseas bankers are not politicians, they are shrewd businessmen and they early on recognised the clear signs of

mismanagement, agreed another Cape Town businessman.

As to politics, most expressed the view that Government was moving too slowly, too carefully and was not taking the initiative.

"It is perceived to be moving reluctantly under pressure only; a sort of knee-jerk reaction," commented one.

"The initial limited changes that were introduced were a good start. Government now needs to move boldly ahead with the reform process."

Most confessed that they could not see any individual within the National Party other than State President PW Botha who had either the standing or strength to carry on from here.

"If something had to happen to PW now I would be very worried," confessed one executive.

"PW started a movement which none of his predecessors were able to do. I trust he still has the courage to keep that ball rolling," he added.

Considerable concern was expressed over the country's ability to generate internally the sort of growth needed to create more jobs and meet the aspirations of an increasing number of work seekers.

"I am afraid the Reserve Bank has painted us into a corner from which it is going to be extremely hard to escape.

"If every cent of our surplus on the current account of the balance of payments is going to be used to pay off our short term foreign debt, we have no hope of developing the sort of economic growth that is desperately needed," it was concluded.

SOUTH AFRICA

SELF-HELP PROJECTS IN KWAZULU GET UNDERWAY

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 29 Aug 85 p 18

[Text]

RURAL KwaZulu's poverty-stricken economy and its tragic by-products — soil erosion, malnutrition and unemployment — can be cured.

Traditionally opposed to betterment schemes, people in some of the poorest parts of KwaZulu are now asking the Institute of Natural Resources to help them create self-help schemes.

These schemes have given promising results against this typical background: Mr Phineas Ndlovu is a plot-holder who often leaves his home near Esh-owe to seek a job. He has seven children and his wife, Matrina, has through dire need taught herself to farm the soil.

The family's hardships are many.

Their total income is less than R1 000 a year; there is no telephone, no running water or even a well, no post office, no railway, no bus service, no power line and very few other amenities near them; they live 1,36 kilometres from their water source and must carry the water to their home; they live 3,6 km from a road; the nearest dipping tank is 1,25 km away; the nearest primary school is 1,1 km distant, the secondary school 11 km, the clinic 1,4 km and source of wood 8,5 km. They have no vehicle.

These figures spell backbreaking hardship for the family. Mrs Ndlovu and her older daughters spend up to nine hours every third day fetching wood, the only fuel they can afford, and two hours a day fetching water.

This situation is the lot of thousands of families living within a few hours' travel of the ease, comfort and often opulence of our cities.

The institute is trying to help these rural people, usually poor subsistence farmers, to make the transition to small-scale commercial farmers who can generate income.

Dr John Erskine, acting director of the institute, says: "Without making the people keen to adopt better methods we are wasting time and money. Much can be achieved by people who want to better themselves."

The institute launched an intensive preliminary programme, including small trials and demonstration plots. Poultry, dairy, plantation and irrigated vegetable units were laid out. The units performed be-

yond their hopes and now serve as possible enterprises for the areas they are located in.

There is encouraging evidence of the multiplier effect of the precursor trials, shown by the following examples of local initiative:

- Members of a women's garden group, who had a small garden area next to an irrigation lucerne trial, showed much interest in the trial and they were allowed to water vegetables when the lucerne was not being irrigated. They paid for the extra fuel needed to pump the water. The system prospered and the group doubled its area. The group received very valuable help from Mr Gavin Pote of the institute and from McDonalds' Seeds in Pietermaritzburg.
- Farmers from nearby and from other parts of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Transkei have visited the units and started similar units in their own areas.
- Many farmers have been converted to the idea of planting trees and have approached project staff for guidance.

Dr Erskine warns that however heartening these results are there are just too many people on the land. Those who wish to move should be allowed to migrate, he says.

"Perhaps we could benefit from emulating the experience of oriental cities where hundreds of thousands of small industries have grown up on the periphery of the cities. This informal industrialisation has brought a measure of self-employment, wealth and independence," Dr Erskine said.

Many other means of easing the lot of the rural people have been and are being tested. For instance, the institute has done trials with pigeon peas and found that in some areas it was the only crop that survived the drought.

One of the oldest of food crops, it was grown in ancient Egypt and today more than 90 percent of the world's production is in India.

It produces food in three to nine months from planting and continues yielding for several years. Its seeds are cooked and eaten like dried beans and its green seeds and the immature pods are eaten as green vegetables.

Pods, husks and foliage are fed to animals and the stalk and side branches provide fuel for cooking.

The institute is also advising people how to tackle such projects as building cheap, but effective lavatories that prevent fly-breeding. The lack of sewerage in many rural areas is harmful to humans and animals.

The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, has been so taken by the institute's approach to problem solving that he has asked it to help development among his people.

Much of the work has been done in close co-operation with the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation and private organisations.

Some of its activities are: Biyela multi-facet rural development project, financed by the Anglo American and De Beers' Chairman's Fund Educational Trust, The Sunday Tribune, United States Consul (Durban); Nansindlela, the institute's research and demonstration farm near Cato Ridge, financed by Mr J. Gray, Gencor Development Fund, the Baring Foundation; rural energy unit, financed by the Sunday

**Tribune, the Goldfields Foundation, BP Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd; Development of Scheepersdal, a former labour tenant farm, near Muden and Natural Resources Information system.**

CSO: 3400/49



SOUTH AFRICA

PERSONAL SAVINGS UP, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS BOOST

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Sep 85 p 27

[Article by Daan de Kock] 1

[Text]

SOUTH Africa's savings ratio increased from 20 percent of gross domestic product in the second quarter of 1984 to a level of 26 percent in the second quarter of 1985, the Reserve Bank says in its September Quarterly Bulletin.

The largest contribution to this improvement came from personal savings, while the saving shortfall of general government was reduced appreciably.

At the same time there was also a decline in the savings of companies because of the decrease in profits.

Apart from the improvement in savings there was also a considerable further improvement in the balance of payments in the second quarter of the year.

As a ration of gross domestic product, the surplus on the current account of the balance of payments amounted to 4,5 percent, which is large by any standard.

The improvement was mainly the result of a further increase in exports and a decline in imports.

Both the prices and volume of exports rose for the seventh consecutive quarter, mainly as a result of an increasing foreign demand for South Africa's mining products.

More favourable agriculture conditions led to lower agriculture imports and moderately higher agriculture exports.

The increase in the inflation rate to 16,4 percent in June and 16,4 percent again at the end of August on a year-on-year basis is blamed to the increase in administered prices due to delayed effects of the overspending experienced until the middle of 1984 and the depreciation in the value of the rand.

The report also points out that although government expenditure for the first five months of the fiscal year increased at a rate in excess of the budgeted figures for the fiscal year as a whole, these expenditures deviated only

moderately from the projected expenditures of departments for this period.

On the other hand, the receipts of the Exchequer increased at even a higher rate, contributing to the financing of the deficit before borrowing without recourse to bank credit.

Other highlights of the report are:

- The contraction in aggregate domestic output increased to 2,5 percent in the second quarter of the year, compared with 1,5 percent in the first quarter of the year.

The lower growth in output appeared in virtually all sectors of the economy, but particularly

hard hit were the wholesale and retail trade.

- Real domestic expenditure declined at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of eight percent in the second quarter of the year.

All the main expenditure components contributed to this fifth consecutive quarterly decline.

- Nominal factor income increased at rates well below the current rate of inflation during the second quarter of the year.

- Unemployment declined at 2,2 percent in the first quarter. This compares with a decline of 0,2 percent in the fourth quarter of last year.

CSO: 3400/51

SOUTH AFRICA

BUSINESS OUTLINES ROLE IN REFORM PROCESS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 2

[Text]

*SOUTH Africa's major employer bodies, black and white, English and Afrikaans, this week joined forces to deliver a comprehensive statement to the United Nations hearings on transnational corporations in SA. Signatories to the statement were Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Urban Foundation.*

*The statement, printed here in full, outlines the role of business in the reform process in SA.*

1) THE object of this statement, made on behalf of leading employer organisations in South Africa, representing the majority of black and white enterprise in commerce and industry, is to outline the positive and effective role being played by organised business to promote and accelerate the progress of change in the country in order to realise the legitimate aspirations of all black South Africans and to effect the removal of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex.

The organisations take pride in attesting to the good work and valuable contribution by the transnational corporations (TNCs) for the furtherance of these objectives individually or collectively.

The TNCs should be included in the term "leading employer organisations" by virtue of their membership and participation in the work of these organisations.

There is a need for international businesses to continue their positive contribution to SA's development efforts and particularly in the area of black advancement where they have played a significant role.

The employer organisations believe they are a powerful force for change and have the motivation, sincerity of purpose and credibility to

achieve the universally-approved outlined objectives.

2) The leading SA employer organisations have on various occasions during the past year committed themselves publicly to an on-going process of economic and political reform.

For example, in a joint Press statement issued on January 7, 1985 a number of critical issues were explicitly identified:

☐ Full participation by all South Africans in a private enterprise economy and in the political dispensation of the country.

☐ A common loyalty to the country as expressed through citizenship for all.

☐ Ending forced removals.

☐ The administration of justice to be safeguarded by the courts.

☐ Further development of a free and independent trade union movement.

3) Since then the co-operative and public effort of organised business has gone further in a number of directions.

The organisations are now in a position to influence significantly the social, political and economic course of events in SA.

4) It is clear the SA business community has deliberately chosen for itself a role as a positive agent of change. By international standards this is an unusual position for business to take.

Hence the issue of motivation needs to be addressed.

(a) Business is deeply concerned that increasingly-violent internal conflict between black and white may become institutionalised in SA.

Because of the strength and the numbers on both sides violence cannot resolve this confrontation. Only death, bloodshed and poverty can emerge as ultimate victors.

(b) The traditional "business way of life" — the private enterprise system itself — is fundamentally at stake. It is the perception of business that if SA's people lose control over the process of change either white- or black-dominated authoritarianism will result in which there will be little room for a substantially market-orientated economic system.

(c) If effective channels of political expression for blacks up to the highest level are not developed, they will be increasingly forced to employ industrial relations mechanisms to voice grievances.

Such a development is unsound and would put the business community in an invidious position.

(d) It is now simply a fact of life that the SA economy has become much too large to be managed by whites alone. In their own self-interest business must get involved with

black advancement in the broad sense and particularly in the area of promoting the rapid development of black managerial talent.

It is essentially both self-interest and social responsibility which are driving the business community towards active promotion of reform.

5) The pressure of economic forces, whether diffused through the marketplace or articulated through business groups, has promoted the progress of black advancement, the rapid growth of black spending power, the emergence of black unions and the development of a black business class.

It has laid the economic foundation for the current debate about black political participation.

6) In dynamic terms an unstoppable process of transformation is currently occurring in SA which is mainly driven by black aspirations and discontent generating in its wake powerful internal pressures for reform.

This demand for change is being supported by the SA business community both in its own enlightened self-interest and for reasons of broader social responsibility.

Collectively these internal pressures are now sufficiently powerful to sustain the process whether or not overseas interests engage or disengage from SA. Thus the real issue is whether this process will be violent or relatively peaceful.

7) Since the declaration of the partial state of emergency, organised business has played and even stronger role:

(a) Accepting the need to restore law and order in parts of SA, business made it clear publicly that security action alone will not resolve the serious conflict in black townships.

Such action must also be backed by a package of substantial reforms to recognise black aspirations and to redress legitimate grievances.

Real negotiations in the political and industrial relations spheres are the key to a return to an orderly SA and to stability in our townships.

(b) A number of meetings were held with senior Cabinet members and the State President to exchange views and to discuss alternative courses of action.

(c) In an official reaction to the financial crisis of confidence which led to the closing of the forex markets and the stock exchange, organised

commerce and industry reaffirmed their strong support for a process of peaceful accommodation of the political, social and economic aspirations of all South Africans regardless of race, colour or creed.

They again stressed the vital importance of negotiation with all accepted black leaders "even if some of these are currently in detention" and offered to government their negotiating experience and expertise gained in the formative years since 1980, during which the new labour dispensation (to accommodate legalised black trade unions) had to be established.

They also indicated their willingness to mediate between and among various leaders and groups in the country, both black and white, in order to get a serious negotiation process going which will involve a new constitutional dispensation for all.

8) Against this background, organised business in SA is engaged in orchestrating an even more active strategy for the private sector to contain a number of inter-related elements.

(a) There is a need for establishing an "SA business charter" outlining, against the backdrop of a number of public statements in this regard, the full set of objectives and principles for power-sharing and black advancement to which the business community is committed in pursuing its own action programme.

(b) Serious direct negotiation between black leaders and government needs to be preceded by an important pre-negotiation phase during which the emphasis should fall on confidence building through mediation and conciliation.

Rushing through this pre-negotiation phase could seriously jeopardise the effectiveness of subsequent round-table bargaining.

This is where organised business could play a crucial role in behind-the-scenes mediation aimed essentially at promoting greater realisation in order to bring the various parties closer together.

Agenda-setting needs to be done and basic assurances and/or conditions established which may well be necessary before serious negotiation can begin.

(c) An effective economic development strategy aimed at maximum employment and wealth creation in the short and medium term is an

urgent necessity.

This will involve a change in emphasis towards a policy of positively promoting orderly urbanisation involving action across a wide range of issues such as privatisation deregulation, the removal of influx control and the pass laws, developing the urban informal sector, rural development and a more cost-effective decentralisation policy.

Such a policy should be integrated with a broad supply-side approach to economic reconstruction to promote economic growth without eroding the competitiveness of industry or unduly stimulating inflation.

(d) Further important elements that need to be co-ordinated are a regionally-orientated programme to upgrade the quality of life in black towns, and a non-discriminatory and vocation-orientated education policy which will open opportunities for black advancement and remove the constraints on productivity and competitiveness.

The overall aim of this action programme is to restore confidence in SA as a country and to permit it to regain its place among the great democracies of the world.

9) In the view of business, the most effective role for foreign interests to play in our country is to latch on to and support constructively the internal processes and developments which are moving irreversibly, and under their own power, in the direction of real reform.

Effective disassociation from abroad will make our contribution to the reform process more problematic, mainly because of the increasing domestic polarisation which will result from international isolation.

Disassociation will not stop the organisations from pursuing their constructive role, since what is at stake in SA is too important.

But there is no doubt such actions would make it more difficult for business to achieve the universal objectives outlined in this statement.

While these indigenous processes continue, overseas interests should indeed actively support selective but aggressive engagement rather than total disengagement from the country, on condition that at least a majority of blacks are satisfied real progress is being made.

SOUTH AFRICA

SWA IN LINE FOR ECONOMIC CRUNCH

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Andre Bruyns]

[Text]

THE economic crisis in South Africa is giving South West Africa a massive headache.

With its rich mines and famous karakul pelts, SWA is an export-orientated country.

Secretary for Finance Dr Johan Jones says the country is "doing fairly well" and is earning more in foreign exchange due to the lower rand price.

However, financial experts in Windhoek are concerned a deteriorating economy in SA will lead to a currency crunch for SWA.

SA guarantees loans of R180m by third parties to SWA. It also gives SWA R318m (1984/5) in direct grants, subsidies and other payments.

Jones said recently SWA had "more or less completed our financial borrowing for the year".

However, if Pretoria fails to get its political and economic act together soon, SWA is likely to feel the pinch when Finance Minister Dirk Mudge turns to SA next year to ask for more.

About half the territory's annual budget is generated domestically. The bulk of taxes come from SWA's 9% GST, with the mining industry next in line.

And while SWA is "doing fairly well" because of export earnings, the deteriora-

tion of the rand has caused its debt redemption and interest to rise by R28,7m to R227,6m.

Jones said SWA was somewhat more successful in getting results than was SA Reserve Bank Governor Dr Gerhard de Kock in his overseas travels.

The manager of a leading Windhoek bank had said he could get foreign credit from an overseas bank not prepared to lend to SA. However, he had had to give the assurance the money would not be passed on to SA.

The West is currently more disposed to help SWA than SA, Jones says.

But overseas banks must have mixed feelings about helping SWA. If SA's credit credibility has become suspect, it stands to reason SA's guarantees for loans to SWA will become suspect also.

As the editor of the Windhoek Advertiser, Joe Putz, said in a recent editorial, "When SA hiccups, we throw up".

On a long-term plan for SWA's economy, Jones told a local newspaper last week: "There is a draft development plan which has been drawn up (the

Draft National Development Strategy for SWA), but decisions have to be made fairly *ad hoc* because, above all, of the uncertain political situation.

"Until we have clarity on where we are going politically, it is very difficult for a long-term plan."

Besides political uncertainty in SWA, uncontrolled borrowing is causing a headache for the country's economy.

A sombre Mudge warned business leaders at the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce and Industries in Windhoek last weekend the days of "uncontrolled borrowing are over".

He saw the only solution to the difficulty of raising loan capital as using internally available reserves and savings to finance government deficits and industrial development.

SWA does have potential money-producing resources, but producing the capital outlay to get them going is another headache.

An example are the Kudu gasfields off the SWA coast, which are said to have a "considerable volume of gas".

However, it could take 10 years and enormous capital outlay before the gasfields are ready for production. Test boreholes alone will cost an estimated R12m each.

CSO: 3400/18

SOUTH AFRICA

FIRMS EXPORT USED IMPORTED EQUIPMENT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Sep 85 p 12

[Text]

South Africa, which has become an exporter of capital, has now also become an exporter of second-hand goods.

The sharp fall in the rand and the likelihood that it will remain weak in the months ahead has prompted the country's largest firm of auctioneers, Aucor (Pty) Ltd to tie up with an American company.

Aucor said it has negotiated a reciprocal agency agreement with Hudson and Marshall Inc, a nationally represented United States auctioneering company.

In terms of this agreement, Hudson and Marshall will operate on behalf of Aucor in the United States when Aucor is faced with selling equipment that is unlikely to attract reasonable prices in South Africa.

USE DEMAND

Mr Eddie Winterstein, chairman of Aucor, said: "A number of potential sellers are finding that there are either no buyers for their merchandise in this country at the moment or that they are practically having to give it away.

"This applies particularly to the big ticket capital equipment." But in the US there was a healthy demand for this sort of equipment.

"We intend offering sellers the option of exporting their equipment to be auctioned in America by Hudson and Marshall," he said.

The tie up between Aucor and Hudson and Marshall is part of the worldwide trend at the moment of exporting capital equipment often manufactured in the US back to the US.

CATERPILLARS

For example, South African Associated Newspapers is reported to be attempting to sell one of its presses in America, while Tedelex has been exporting excess electrical stock to the US.

A South African businessman on recent trip to the US said he had observed row upon row of caterpillar vehicles at a plant.

He was told that many US companies found it cheaper to import these type of machines from companies abroad that had purchased them earlier from the US and now found it profitable to export them back.

With the dollar so strong against most other currencies US imports have been booming.

It has now even become attractive for South African's to sell exotic and classic vintage motor cars in the US at really attractive rand prices.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW PLAN FOR MIGRANT LABOR CONTRACTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 13

[Text]

MIGRANT labourers from the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei) states will no longer have to travel "home" to renew their contracts as of November 1.

This is one of the results of high level SATBVC Manpower Ministers' discussions in Bophuthatswana's capital, Mmabatho, on Tuesday, according to a statement in Pretoria yesterday from the Secretariat for Multilateral Co-operation in Southern Africa (SECOSAF).

"The most significant aspect of the talks was a number of important decisions to streamline the

administrative arrangements for the re-attestation of employment contracts of TBVC citizens working in South Africa."

The requirement that migrant labourers must return to their home states to have their contracts stamped and renewed has been a controversial issue.

"In terms of the multilateral understanding reached by the five governments, consular representatives of the TBVC states accredited in South Africa will as from November 1 be able to renew the service contracts of their citizens employed in the Republic. — Sapa.

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SOUTH AFRICA

HIGH RATINGS SAID GIVEN LOCALLY DEVELOPED CUTTING OIL

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Sep 85 p 22

[Article by Stan Kennedy]

[Text]

A locally developed biostable synthetic cutting and grinding fluid is having a big impact on specialists in the US, Australia and France, where extensive tests confirm that all the commonly known problems associated with normal oils are eliminated.

As a result of the tests, Synoil of Edenvale is finalising its first export order worth R500 000 with a US distributor.

Developed by Mr Karl Schrittwieser of Synoil, the fluid, called Carolla, has been accepted by the local diamond research industry and specialist toolrooms.

Normally semi-synthetic, neat and emulsifiable oils deteriorate rapidly under hot conditions because of bacterial growth, which give off unpleasant odours, necessitating frequent oil drainage.

Carolla is said to have overcome this problem. Being completely stable, it requires only topping up.

It is produced in concentrated form and can be diluted to suit individual machine operations.

Because of its high water base and synthetic nature it can be easily washed off machinery, floors and skin.

The company says the fluid leaves a superior cutting edge and does not cause staining or corrosion on yellow metals, such as zinc and aluminium. But its biggest claim is that it increases tool life 100 percent which, in turn, reduces tool costs, maintenance and downtime for all machining operations.



SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

**'WEEKEND ARGUS' SALES GROW**--The hike in newspaper prices hit their sales in the six months ended June. But the latest official circulation figures show that in spite of this setback the Weekend Argus was still able to show circulation growth in this period and the daily Argus lost fewer readers than its competitors. Audit Bureau of Circulation figures show that the circulation of the Weekend Argus rose 0,5 percent in the six months ended June from the six months ended December. The increase was to 118 194 from 117 600. In the same period sales of the Saturday edition of the Cape Times fell 7,7 percent from 83 373 to 79 559 and sales of the Saturday edition of Die Burger by 3,1 percent from 89 069 to 85 216. This significantly increased the edge which The Argus has over its competitors. It resulted in The Argus's average Saturday sales in the six months ended June outstripping those of the Cape Times by 38 635, compared with 34 227 in the previous six months, and those of Die Burger by 32 028 (28 531). Average sales of the weekday edition of The Argus in this period fell 3,6 percent to 100 329. Sales of the Cape Times dropped 5,5 percent to 65 653 and sales of Die Burger 5,8 percent to 75 887. This also widened the gap between The Argus's sales and those of the Cape Times from 34 593 to 34 626, and that between The Argus and Die Burger from 23 489 to 24 442. [Text] [Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in English 31 Aug 85 p 1]

**NEW DETENTION BARRACKS**--South African Defence Force, No 2059, 13 September 1985. Establishment of a Detention Barracks. I, Magnus Andre de Merindol Malan, Minister of Defence, hereby establish, in terms of the powers vested in me by section 120 (2) of the First Schedule to the Defence Act, 1957 (Act 44 of 1957), the premises, as set out in the Schedule hereto, as a Detention Barracks to which offenders who have been sentenced to detention in terms of the Military Discipline Code may be committed to serve such sentences. Signed at Pretoria on this 23rd day of August 1985. M. A. De M. Malan, Minister of Defence. Schedule--Boksburg North: Cinderella Prison and surrounding area, bordered by Trichardt, Railway and Campbell Streets. [Text] [Pretoria GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in English 13 Sep 85 p 19]

**GOLD EXPORTS**--South African gold exports are forecast to rise to 692t in 1986 from an estimated 680t this year and 683t in 1984, the Minerals Bureau said in a report. It predicted that the rand value of gold exports would rise to R17,05bn in 1986 from \$14,94bn this year and \$11,61bn in 1984. Non-gold exports are expected to be worth R8,99bn in 1986, compared with R7,92bn

this year and R5,44bn in 1984. The report assumed an average rand value of 47,5 US cents for this year and 47 US cents next year, with gold put at \$322/oz this year and \$360 next year. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 4]

**SANCTIONS IMPACT--New York--**Economic sanctions could be a boon to the South African economy, according to Steven Mulholland, executive director of South African Associated Newspapers and editor-in-chief of Business Day and the Financial Mail. "Sanctions have an unpredictable result," he said in Memphis, Tennessee on Wednesday. "You don't know how people will react. Since the arms embargo against us, we've become an arms exporter," he said. "It could be good for the economy. We've got things that people need. We're in the top 10% of the world's trading nations," he added. South Africa was almost self-sufficient, with an economy based on agriculture and mining, he said, although the country did import most of its oil. Mulholland, who was in Memphis on a personal visit, said most moderate whites in his country favoured the elimination of apartheid. "The argument is made that white Africa has become rich off the sweat of the blacks," he said in an interview. "I would argue the opposite. Apartheid has been robbing South Africa of its wealth. "Real wealth flows from human creativity," he said. "Through apartheid we have stunted the growth of the black people." [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 20 Sep 85 p 4]

**PSION COMPUTERS--**The first company in South Africa to manufacture micro-computers, Psion Computers, is negotiating its first export order for the Psion PC 100--a powerful IBM-compatible machine with 256K user memory that will sell locally for less than R3000. Says managing director Mr Doug Gardner: "The local response has been magnificent and has more than justified all we have put into our venture. But to have received an export order for 100 machines so early is the cherry on the top." He says the new PC offers several advantages over industry standards in that it is more expandable, has a larger screen and superior graphics. "It also gives the buyer and user full peace of mind because it is South African manufactured and supported," he says. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Sep 85 p 22]

**OLIVETTI DESIGNED MODEM--**The only Beltel modem with intelligence and with strict security factors built into it has been approved by the SA Post Office for its Beltel service. It was designed by Olivetti SA and is now being manufactured in its Robertsham factory. The modem has a non-volatile random access memory (NVRM), which allows for data storage of up to 10 years without any power or batteries. "In addition to the automatic dialling feature on the model, information suppliers can make confidential material available only to people with an applicable security code, says Mr Norman Royds, national customer engineering services manager and the man behind the design. "Nobody else can have access to this information. Other modems in South Africa are only instruments to carry data. They have no intelligence to 'answer back.' Nothing like this exists in the world because specifications vary from country to country." He says his company is talking to Loewe in West Germany, for which Olivetti are the sole distributors in South Africa, to see if they can use the excess processing and memory power in the local modem, which has been patented, to enhance their own product. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Sep 85 p 22]

INKATHA BLAMED FOR UNREST--A new opinion survey has challenged the image of Inkatha as the force that the peace in the Durban area during recent unrest. The survey, by the Institute of Black Research, showed that most Africans blamed Inkatha and the police for starting the trouble and for being the most active in it thereafter. This was reflected in a considerable loss of support for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the president of Inkatha, among Africans, a finding that has been supported in other recent surveys. The latest survey was released this week by Professor Fatimah Meer of the University of Natal. Almost 500 people in the greater Durban area were questioned and the answers were broken down by race. The breakdown showed a remarkable contrast between the perceptions of the unrest by Africans, as opposed to those of coloureds and Indians. Asked what incidents started the trouble, 56 percent of Africans blamed police instigators and 20 percent blamed Inkatha provocation. Surprisingly, only 13 percent blamed student action and 10 percent blamed the murder of Victoria Mxenge, a local lawyer and activist. Among coloureds and Indians, the findings were strikingly different. Thirty percent of Indians did not know what sparked the trouble, while 29 percent blamed the Mxenge murder. Only 12 percent blamed either the police or Inkatha. Among coloureds, 37 percents did not know, while 11 percent blamed hooliganism and 11 percent blamed the Mxenge murder. Asked which groups were most active in the trouble once it started, most Africans said it was the police or Inkatha. Coloureds blamed Africans and criminals, while Indians blamed Africans. [Text] [Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 20-26 Sep 85 p 3]

HOUSING SHORTAGE IN VAAL TRIANGLE--About 2,000 houses are needed every year to provide houses for the fast growing population in the Vaal Triangle. "But, I have my fears that the demand will be more now that there has been standstill in developments in the area," an Orange-Vaal Development Board official said in an interview yesterday. "At present Escom is building 2,000 houses for its employees in Zone 10 Sebokeng. Other organisations also have housing projects in the same area. But the waiting list for houses is growing every year and it is difficult to wipe it off. We are trying hard to cope," he said. "We are having another housing project in Residensia. This former white town is being replanned and redeveloped at the cost of R1 m by providing a sewerage system, tarring of roads and installing of electricity and water supply. The area will have sites which will be sold or rented to the residents," he said. He hinted that his board was negotiating with some neighbouring farmers to purchase land for expansion. The strip of land between Sharpeville and Boipatong townships had been bought and 2,000 sites are to be developed there. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19 Sep 85 p 4]

CSO: 3400/23

SWAZILAND

BRIEFS

JAIL DEATHS RISE--Mbabane--A total of nine prisoners, the highest number yet, died in Swaziland's jails last year, according to a report released by the Department of Prisons. The report referred to a "considerable rise" in the death toll in the prisons. It said the prisoners died from various sicknesses and also mentioned problems being experienced by prisons because of a shortage of drugs--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Sep 85 p 13]

CSO: 3400/55

ZAMBIA

COPPER AT CRISIS POINT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Sep 85 p 24

[Text]

LUSAKA. — Zambian output of copper, almost its only export, is likely to continue to fall because of a serious lack of foreign exchange and ore reserves are being exhausted, the country's mining chief warned.

But Francis Kaunda, chairman of the State-owned Zambia Copper Mines (ZCCM), said in his annual report that despite these problems the company made a pre-tax profit of 145-million Kwacha in the financial year 1984/85 as a result of improved efficiency and slightly higher metal prices.

This figure was about 50 percent better than last year, but after tax the company barely broke even with a profit of only 700 000 Kwacha, he said.

Mr Kaunda said copper output would inevitably fall significantly as currently exploited ore deposits would be severely depleted by the end of the century, and it was essential to devise a national approach to the problem.

The foreign exchange shortage, which has hit every sector of the Zambian economy, stems from the low world price of copper and has created a vicious circle of steadily declining production due to lack of funds to import essential spare parts and equipment.

Mr Kaunda said ZCCM's viability and competitiveness "depend, more than ever before, upon the measures to improve productivity and efficiencies which should result in reduced operating costs".

"It cannot be over-emphasised that the ability of the company to sustain production is dependent upon adequate and regular allocation of foreign exchange for the importation of the necessary inputs.

"I am concerned, therefore, that without adequate foreign exchange, production in future will continue to deteriorate.

"This will further aggravate the acute problems of foreign exchange in the economy," he said.

Zambian copper production has declined steadily in recent years and fell by almost five percent in 1984/85 against the previous year to 525 811 tons, according to ZCCM figures released in July.

CSO: 3400/77

ZAMBIA

HUGE LOSSES HIT GIANT COPPER MINE

Johannesburg WEEKEND ARGUS in English 7 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

LUSAKA. — The giant Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines recorded a loss of \$12,3 million in the quarter ended June 30 this year compared with a loss of \$1,3 million in the corresponding quarter of 1984, a company spokesman said here.

The company realised a metal trading profit of \$37,1 million during the quarter, he said, but this was wiped out by net interest of \$16,5 million dollars, an exchange loss of \$12,9 million and taxation amounting to \$20 million.

Because of the continuing shortage of spare parts, copper production for the quarter was 119 979 tons (122 523 tons).

Cobalt production, at 867 tons, was 19 percent lower but cobalt sales, at 976 tons, were considerably higher than the 527 tons sold in the corresponding quarter of 1984.

The spokesman said the average price Zambia had realised for cobalt was \$23 495 a ton, significantly higher than the \$14 910 in the June quarter of 1984. — Sapa-Reuter.

CSO: 3400/77

END